RULES AND RESOURCES OF VIOLENCE PREVENTION PROGRAMS

by

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ABSTRACT

In recent years, violence prevention programs have surfaced as supposed solutions to the growing prevalence of violence within schools. A vast majority of research done on these programs has been quantitative and seeks to prove the effectiveness of the programs. This study focuses on the content of the programs by examining the program materials of three highly rated school violence prevention programs: 1) Life Skills Training, 2) Olweus Bullying Prevention Program, and 3) Project Towards No Drug Abuse. Through the programs' materials, creators' assumptions about causes of violence and potential rules and resources provided by these programs have been identified. By looking at these programs through the lens of structuration theory, it has become clear that the rules and resources offered by these programs fail to address both the agent and the environment. Suggestions for violence prevention within schools have been made, largely centered on a modified cohort system.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT iii

Chapters

1. INTRODUCTION 1

    Purpose Statement 1
    Problem Statement 2

2. LITERATURE REVIEW 7

    Definitions 7
    Structuration Theory 8
    Deindividuation 13
    Foci of Violence Prevention Programs in General 14
    Life Skills Training 16
    Olweus Bullying Prevention Program 18
    Project Towards No Drug Abuse 20
    Research Questions 22

3. METHODOLOGY 23

    General Methodology 23
    Program Selection Process 24
    Analysis Methodology 30

4. TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF PROGRAMS' MATERIALS 32

    Currentness of Program Materials 32
    Effectiveness Claims 35
    Fidelity vs. Adapatability 37
    Explicit Program Goals 41
    Unique Program Components 43
    The Mentioning of Other Effects 46
    Contradictions 49

5. DISCUSSION 57

Assumptions About Causes of Violence 59
Rules and Resources Provided by Programs 69
Structures That Decrease or Limit Violence. 84
Addressing Deindividuation 91
Kinds of Structures 94

6. CONCLUSION: SUGGESTIONS FOR THE FUTURE 96

Removal of Zero Tolerance Policies 99
Emphasis on Administrative and Teacher Commitment 100
Allowing for Different Degrees of Parent Involvement 103
Intervention Training 104
Class Meetings Within a Cohort System 106
Overall Raised Awareness 110
Limitations 111
Conclusion 111

APPENDICES

A. LIFE SKILLS TRAINING 115

B. OLWEUS BULLYING PREVENTION PROGRAM. 127

C. PROJECT TOWARDS NO DRUG ABUSE. 141

REFERENCES 152

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Purpose Statement

The purpose of this study is to discover and understand the assumptions about causes of violence in school settings by analyzing violence prevention program curricula. By using structuration theory, it also seeks to identify the rules and resources provided by the program materials that could potentially reproduce structures that limit and discourage violence. Structuration theory can be understood as a theory that describes systems in terms of rules and resources that reproduce structures that simultaneously enable and constrain action of human agents.

I will do this by reviewing the program materials of three highly rated violence prevention programs. The review will be critical in terms of understanding what they are doing that is working and what they are doing that might be less effective. It should be understood that this is one piece of the many that compose the overall results of these programs. I will strictly be looking at the program materials, not the actual implementation of them.

Problem Statement

According to the 2009 national Youth Risk Behavior Survey, within the 12 months prior to the survey, 31.5% of students had engaged in a physical fight. Within the 30 days prior to the survey, 17.5% of students had carried a weapon (Department of Health and Human Services, 2009). Though it may be more comfortable to label school violence an isolated inner-city phenomenon, statistics like these and supporting research reveal the increasing normality of violence among youth (Nansel et al., 2001). In November 2011, Breanna Jollerson, a 7-year old at South Clearfield Elementary was attacked by a 6-year old boy on the playground. She went home that day with a concussion and a hairline fracture to her eye socket (Park, 2011). In March 2011, a junior at Alta High School came to the Spirit Bowl dressed in a white hood, emblematic of the Ku Klux Klan hoods. He walked around giving the "stiff-armed salute" associated with Adolf Hitler and the Nazis (Hunsaker, 2011). These things are happening, not in the dangerous neighborhoods of New York City or Los Angeles, but in Clearfield and Sandy, Utah.

Schools in all types of environments are removing lockers from hallways and prohibiting backpacks (or requiring clear backpacks) with the intent of eliminating weapons in schools (Devine, 1996; Dusenbury, Falco, Lake, Brannigan, & Bosworth, 1997). But violence is more than physical fights and weapons. It "occurs on a continuum ranging from bullying and verbal abuse, through fighting, to rape and homicide" (Dusenbury et al., 1997, p. 409). The name-calling, bullying, and general intimidation that seem to naturally occur among students, violent acts themselves, are often precursors

to more serious forms of violence. This study acknowledges and includes that wide continuum.

Regardless of the particular kind of violence inflicted, studies now show that victims can suffer with the effects of the violence for years (Olweus, 1994; Olweus, Limber, Flerx, Mullin, Riese, &Snyder, 2007a). The effects of violence do not end at the victim. Research suggests that violence can be experienced vicariously (Schat & Kelloway, 2003). This concept has been examined more fully within workplaces through the psychological contract breach model. The model posits that individuals have certain expectations. When those expectations are not met (in terms of input and what people should receive), the contract has been breached and is seen as no longer in effect and output, or productivity, decreases. The psychological contract can be breached when violence or threats of violence are experienced directly or indirectly (van Emmerik, Euwema, & Bakker, 2007). Within schools, this would have two significant implications. Our culture believes that schools are or should be safe places. When that proves untrue due to a violent incident or a threat of a violent incident, psychological contracts are challenged and sometimes breached. The breaching of the contract occurs both for victims and for others who share the space where the violence was perpetrated or threatened. The other implication relates to learning and productivity in schools and is an effect of the psychological contract breach. When students, teachers, and staff within schools do not feel safe, schools may struggle to accomplish learning goals and foster a productive environment (Black, Washington, Trent, Harner & Pollock, 2010; Olweus, Limber, & Mihalic, 1999).

The perpetrator of violence merits attention also. Many playground bullies end up engaging in other antisocial behavior like shoplifting, drinking and smoking at a young age, and vandalizing property. They are significantly more likely than their non-bullying peers to continue on to a path of crime and substance abuse (Olweus et al., 2007a). This is problematic for more than just the individual who commits crime or abuses drugs; crime significantly costs us as a nation. One study estimates that "each high-risk juvenile prevented from adopting a life of crime could save the country between $1.7 million and $2.3 million" (Fox, Elliott, Kerlikowske, Newman, & Christeson, 2003).

Violence prevention programs are surfacing all across the country as supposed solutions to violence within schools. Most of the literature about these programs is inconclusive (Black et al., 2010; Bowllan, 2011; Park-Higgerson et al., 2008; Simon et al., 2009). Some scholars argue that these programs have been relatively ineffective in immediate effects and that very little long-term research has been done to determine their more stable outcomes (Johnson & Johnson, 1995; Webster, 1993). Webster expounds on three reasons why violence prevention programs should not be considered automatic solutions to violence: 1) there is a lack of evidence that proves they are effective; 2) many do not focus intervention both inside and outside of the classroom; and 3) the assumptions that undergird the programs are questionable (1993). Johnson and Johnson advocate replacing the competitive nature of school environments with a focus on collaboration structures (1995). Park-Higgerson et al. identify five central characteristics of violence prevention programs: 1) whether or not the program design was based on theory; 2) if the programs were selective or universal; 3) if the programs were multiple or single-approach interventions; 4) the ages the programs focused on; and 5) whether or not

the programs were conducted by specialists. With these criteria in mind, they conducted a meta-analysis of 365 studies on violence prevention programs and found that there were no significant differences between interventions in terms of their effectiveness (2008). Others, while recognizing that many programs are ineffective, champion one or several of these types of programs as keys to decreasing societal violence (Blueprints for Violence Prevention). One possible issue in measurement is that many programs are being evaluated in conditions that are not consistent with their original design. For example, the effectiveness of a program that is intended to be implemented school-wide is evaluated based on a study that assigns intervention to individual students or just a few classrooms (Horne, 2004; Simon et al., 2009).

The research available on these programs is almost exclusively quantitative. (Biggs, Vernberg, Twemlow, Fonagy, & Dill, 2008; Botvin, Griffin, & Nichols, 2006; Bowllan, 2011; De Anda, 1999; Olweus, 1993; Park-Higgerson et al., 2008; Simon et al., 2009; Simon, Sussman, Dahlberg, & Dent, 2002; Sussman, Rohrbach, & Mihalic, 2004). Researchers rely heavily on several scales to measure the frequency, intensity, and types of violence being experienced within schools and distribute the measures to both teachers (in terms of what they observe) and students (in terms of what they experience). Some of these scales include: the Problem Behavior Frequency Scale (Farrell, Kung, White, & Valois, 2000), the Behavioral Assessment System for Children Teacher Response Scale (Reynolds & Kamphaus, 1998), the School Safety Problems Scale (Miller-Johnson et al., 2004), the Revised-Olweus Bully/Victim Questionnaire (Bowllan, 2011), and the School Norms for Aggression Scale (Henry, Cartland, Ruchross, & Monohan, 2004). Measures are generally administered both before and after a violence prevention program is

implemented. The results are then compared to determine the effects of the program in terms of aggression, knowledge about violence, victimization, school safety, school norms, and weapon carrying among other outcomes (Simon et al., 2009; Webster, 1993).

Very little has been written in terms of the content of these programs. Most scholars in this field have not yet explored the brief and often unexplained lists of content areas covered by programs (like active listening, self-control, and stereotypes), devoid of any details or rationale that describe why these topics are important and how they contribute to prevention. What is needed now is a focus on "how change happens, not just on whether it takes place" (Saunders, 2001, p. 222). That is not a quantitative question. Using qualitative methods, this study begins to answer the "how" in the hopes of discovering and proposing rules and resources that will lead to safer schools.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Definitions

As violence in schools and workplaces increases in its prevalence and intensity, several words have emerged to describe the phenomenon. Violence (Dusenbury et al., 1997; Vecchi, 2009), bullying (Lutgen-Sandvik, Tracy, & Alberts, 2007; Olweus, 2003), psychological terror (Leymann, 1996), mobbing (Zapf, 1999), and harassment (Brodsky, 1976) are some of the most commonly used. Within schools, bullying and violence seem to be the most used terms. Porhola, Karhunen, and Rainivaara summarized the bullying literature and determined that scholars agree on three criteria for bullying: "1) It is aggressive behavior or intentional doing of harm, 2) which is carried out repeatedly and over time, 3) in an interpersonal relationship characterized by an imbalance of power" (2006, p. 253). Bullying can be experienced directly or indirectly. Examples of direct bullying include physical fights, verbal attacks, and destroying another student's work. Indirect bullying is more difficult to observe and identify. Social exclusion and spreading rumors about a student are typical examples of indirect bullying. Leymann determined that hurtful activities needed to occur at least once a week for at least 6 months for the interaction to be labeled as bullying (1996). There appears to be no argument for the timeline outside of a need to distinguish bullying from what might be considered normal

childhood disagreements and teasing. The bullying definition also excludes situations where the bully and the victim have equal power and more temporary conflicts (or single instances of violence). For these reasons, this study includes a larger scope of harmful interactions and recognizes violence as "a continuum ranging from bullying and verbal abuse, through fighting, to rape and homicide" (Dusenbury et al., 1997, p. 409). Violence definitions include bullying, but do not have the same boundedness that excludes harmful behavior that occurs occasionally, possibly unintentionally, or between individuals who have similar amounts of power.

Violence is not a fixed structure of society; it is created and perpetuated in interaction. This study utilizes Giddens' structuration theory to understand and analyze violence within the school system on a structural level. Violence prevention programs attempt to alter, remove, or replace existing structures that enable violence with structures that constrain violence.

Structuration Theory

Sociologist Anthony Giddens first presented his theory of structuration in 1984. In Giddens' own words, the theory can be summarized by explaining that "the structural properties of social systems are both medium and outcome of the practices they recursively organize" (1984, p. 25). In other words, human actions both create and reproduce the structures that simultaneously enable and constrain action. A significant breakthrough of structuration theory was its ability to account for macro- (structural) and micro- (human) processes by explaining the interactive nature of the two levels. The complexity of structuration theory requires that it be parsed into four domains. Though

they will be described separately, they should be understood as "interrelated elements of a comprehensive theoretical project" (Banks & Riley, 1983).

Duality of Structure

Duality of structure can best be explained as the balance between agency and structure. Structuration theory makes a special effort to not support either extreme of agent or structural determinism (Bruce, Roscigno, & McCall, 1998). Poole and McPhee explain that "when we draw on structural rules and resources to act within a social system of practices, we also keep that system going-in the technical terminology of structuration theory and other social theories, we *reproduce* the system and its structure" (2005, p. 175). Reproduction does not imply that the system is always reproduced in a static and unchanging way. Transformation is possible, but it is seen as reproduction in a different direction. Poole and McPhee use the example of the library catalogue to illustrate the duality of structure concept. As a library patron uses the library catalog to help him or her find a book, he or she is also, in a sense, keeping the library catalog alive as a useful resource (2005, p. 175). This is reproduction. The library catalog was the medium (it was used to accomplish the goal of finding a book) and the outcome (because it was used, librarians or library administration will continue to rely on it). The patron was both enabled and constrained by the catalog. He or she was enabled to find a book, but he or she was also constrained by the catalog because it may be the only option he or she is aware of in the process of conducting a library search. In either case, the patron chooses how to navigate the library (agency) while simultaneously, the library catalog (the structure) influences how the patron will choose.

Agency and Reflexivity

The first of the two parts of the duality of structure, as mentioned above, is agency. A critical assumption of structuration theory is that active agents interact in the social world. "All social actors, no matter how lowly, have some degree of penetration of the social forms which oppress them" (Giddens, 1979, p. 145). As agents, humans are knowledgeable and depend on that knowledge to guide everyday actions. While acting, humans can observe and process their own behavior, remember past behaviors, and apply pertinent knowledge to inform present decisions and actions. This is reflexivity. Though Giddens does not believe that organizations can be agents, he does consent that groups, organizations, and society can reflexively monitor their collective actions in a process called institutional reflexivity. This is primarily done by gathering information about their operations and using the information to make changes. Because this study focuses on changing structures within schools to create safer schools, it is important to remember that "individuals are not puppets controlled by social forces but have the power to change the structures that guide many of their behaviors" (Miller, 2005, p. 215).

Structures and Systems

Structures and systems make up the second half of the duality of structure. Structures are not hard or concrete things. They exist only as memory traces for social actors when they are not being presently called upon in an interaction. Riley explains structures as:

> the rules and resources people use in interaction, and they are analyzed as dualities: they are both the medium and the outcome of interaction. They are the medium, because structures provide the rules and resources individuals must draw on to interact meaningfully. They are its outcome, because rules and resources

> exist only through being applied and acknowledged in interaction-they have no reality independent of the social practices they constitute. (1983, p. 415)

Rules are generalizable procedures about how to get things done. Sometimes they are very explicit and written down, like maternity policies in organizations, but often they are tacit and understood as simply the way things are done, like knowing how to order food at a take-out window (Miller, 2005). A resource is "anything people are able to use in action, whether material (money, tools) or nonmaterial (knowledge, skill)" (Poole & McPhee, 2005, p. 174). As alluded to in the definition, there are two types of resources: allocative and authoritative. Allocative resources are material, and authoritative resources are nonmaterial. When rules and resources are regularly reproduced and become routinized within a society, they become institutions. Institutions can exist at various levels, but they are always reproduced over a significant amount of time (Miller, 2005). Examples of institutions within American culture include the Super Bowl, our educational system, and government.

Giddens also explains that there are different structural features of institutions: signification, legitimation, and domination (Banks & Riley, 1993; Witmer, 1997). Identifying these three major structurations within institutions has been used to better understand and explain organizational culture (Riley, 1983; Witmer, 1997). Signification structures produce meaning that helps agents understand their experience in relation to an institution. A signification structure could be a narrative (a resource) that tells the story of the founders of the institution (Riley, 1983). Legitimation structures produce norms. An example of a legitimation structure could be an unstated dress code (a rule) that is carefully adhered to by a group (Witmer, 1997). Domination structures produce (and are the exercise of) power. Zero tolerance policies (a rule) would be a domination structure.

These three types of structures will be identified within violence prevention program curricula to offer a clearer picture of what the particular potential structures provided by these programs could accomplish in the spaces in which they are reproduced.

Systems refer to systems of human practices. They are "observable patterns of relationships in practices, which include relations among operations and divisions" (Poole & McPhee, 2005, p. 174). Religious organizations, political parties, and departments within universities are all somewhat formal examples of social systems of interaction (Boucaut, 2001). "Practices are patterns of activity that are meaningful to those engaged in them…[They] organize human activities in relation to one another" (Poole & McPhee, 2005, p. 174).

Time and Space

As mentioned earlier, structures are not hard, concrete things. They exist in the moments and the spaces in which they are being reproduced. When they are not being actively reproduced, they exist only as memory traces (Banks & Riley, 1993). Time and space affects the interactions that take place within them. Spaces are often set up in ways that physically signify the types of interactions that can occur within them (Poole & McPhee, 2005). For example, desks and walls set boundaries within buildings that enable and constrain certain interactions. In a department store, a customer does not expect or attempt to purchase clothing items in the dressing room even if a person with the credentials and authority to sell the items and collect payment is also in the dressing room.

Deindividuation

Leon Festinger, a social psychologist, first coined the term "deindividuation" in 1952. Deindividuation refers to situations where antinormative behavior happens in groups in which individuals are "not seen or paid attention to as individuals" (Festinger, et al., 1952, p. 382). It consists of a three-part process. Situational inputs create a deindividuated state (an individual does not feel like he or she is noticed against the backdrop of the environment) that then allows for the output of behavior that is uninhibited by typical personal and social constraints (Diener, 1977). Sometimes the effects of deindividuation are harmless, but sometimes the effects are violent. In an ethnography conducted in inner New York City high schools with high rates of violence, researchers discovered that student relationships with faculty and administration were almost nonexistent. Teachers intentionally stayed uninvolved in and unaware of students' lives (Devine, 1996). This condition of being unknown to school personnel and peers seems to be common among those who perpetrate violence in school settings (Vecchi, 2009). They are often unknown because they have been alienated by classmates (Johnson & Johnson, 1995). One possible solution to this problem is establishing cohorts of students that progress for multiple years with the same teachers (Johnson & Johnson, 1995; Webster, 1993). By moving through the schooling years with the same group of students and teachers, students will be and hopefully feel more known. This could begin to eliminate deindividuation and the safety of anonymity that sometimes encourages violence. A cohort system encourages relationships that could foster positive role modeling and begin to change the social structure. Though this has been suggested by the

two pieces listed above, the recommendation is brief, at best, and makes no connection to the concept of deindividuation.

Structuration theory has guided the design of this study and will be the primary lens for close analysis, but deindividuation provides a more specific focus that potentially leads to my interest in particular kinds of structures as alternative solutions, within or outside of violence prevention programs, to prevent violence. One of these structures, as mentioned above, could be a cohort system. Throughout the analysis, this study will search for structures that preclude deindividuation.

Foci of Violence Prevention Programs in General

The most prevalent distinction between programs is if they are universal or selective. Universal programs are intended for a whole grade level or a whole school. Selective programs identify high-risk students (based on a number of factors) and work specifically with them (Simon et al., 2009). A meta-analysis of violence prevention programs found that there was no statistically significant difference in effects between the two types of programs, but researchers by and large do not agree with the finding (Park-Higgerson et al., 2008). Some insist that working with high-risk students is the only way to make a difference in these schools because less than five percent of the students account for one third of the violence in schools (Johnson & Johnson, 1995, p.63). Others claim that grouping anti-social or high-risk students creates problems associated with labeling and may lead to worse behavior as the group regularly interacts with each other (Dusenbury et al., 1997).

Another distinction that is made between programs is whether they are single-approach programs or multiple-approach programs. Single-approach programs are generally those programs that carry themselves out in the classroom without any outside involvement. Multiple-approach programs encourage as much involvement of parents, community leaders, media, and local law enforcement as possible. Though not all programs are designed to be multiple-approach programs, a large majority of researchers advocate the multiple-approach (Affonso et al., 2010; Dusenbury et al., 1997; Webster, 1993). Research, however, found that single-approach programs are more effective than multiple-approach programs (Park-Higgerson et al., 2008; Simon et al., 2009). This seems counter-intuitive, but it makes sense when the culture of violence is considered. Bringing in more of the influences that helped establish the culture may only perpetuate it. For example, the high schools in New York may try to encourage parents to come to meetings and sessions with their students on violence prevention. Due to jobs and economic constraints, fear for their own safety in the neighborhood, and a general absence of many of these parents in their children's lives, few would probably come. If students have been told that their parents will be involved but they see that few parents show up, they receive the message that violence prevention does not really matter or that it is not really possible. The meta-analysis listed insufficient implementation and lack of support of school faculty and staff as other possible reasons that explain why multiple-approach programs were less effective (Park-Higgerson et al., 2008).

The actual curriculum varies between programs but many focus on teaching about the risks of behavior that encourages violence and developing skills (how to recognize and cope with anger, resist peer pressure, solve problems, and negotiate among many

others) (Simon et al., 2008; Webster, 1993). Though the types of skills these programs teach is fairly consistent, there are mixed reactions to teaching about risks. When youth underestimate the risks in violent environments, they are prone to make poor choices that often result in violence. The opposite, however, of focusing on the risk, creates similar outcomes. Youth who are scared of their environments are more likely to carry weapons, which also increases the likelihood of violence (Webster, 1993). Some doubt the effectiveness of skill developing because many programs do not teach these skills in the contexts that the students will need these skills. In other words, the role plays and the scenarios used are unrealistic and unrepresentative of students' real lives and the students are unable to translate the skills into authentic, everyday situations (Webster, 1993).

These distinctions of universal or selective, single or multiple approaches and how each selected program approaches teaching skills and risks are important distinctions to understand and make, because they are the primary distinctions made currently between programs. This study will look at these distinctions as possible rules and resources that reproduce structures.

Life Skills Training

Life Skills Training is a universal, single-approach intervention that targets middle school/junior high school students. Its explicit focus is on reducing tobacco, alcohol, and marijuana use, but it has also been found to decrease violence within schools due to the fact that substance use and violence tend to co-occur (Botvin et al., 2006; Simon et al., 2002). Research is beginning to show that a variety of problem behaviors (substance use, violence, and delinquency) associated with adolescence may share a

common etiology. Life Skills Training is a three-year intervention that is primarily implemented by classroom teachers. The first year of the program includes fifteen sessions, each about 45 minutes long, that can be taught once a week or as an intensive mini-course. The second year includes ten sessions, and the third year includes five sessions. The program has been found to be effective with only the first year being implemented within schools, but research has shown that prevention effects are significantly increased when the second and third years of instruction are also implemented (Blueprints for Violence Prevention, 2011).

The program consists of three main components: 1) general self-management skills, 2) social skills, and 3) information and skills specifically related to drug use. Teaching methods or techniques include instruction, demonstration, feedback, reinforcement, and practice. The program incorporates both general and domain-specific content, though it is unclear how exactly this happens without having access to the program curriculum (Blueprints for Violence Prevention, 2011).

Life Skills Training has been found to reduce tobacco, alcohol, and marijuana use by 50% to 75%. Long-term follow-up results gathered six years after the intervention show that Life Skills Training cuts polydrug use up to 66%, reduces pack-a-day smoking by 25%, and decreases use of inhalants, narcotics, and hallucinogens (Botvin, Mihalic, & Grotpeter, 1998). What is more pertinent to this study, however, is how the program has influenced violent behaviors. Through a study that included 4,858 sixth grade students in 41 schools (20 schools were assigned the intervention, 21 served as the control group), Botvin and colleagues found that violence significantly decreased among students who had been involved in at least half of the intervention sessions. Physical aggression

(pushing, tripping, or hitting someone) decreased by 30%. Verbal aggression (name calling, yelling, cursing, telling someone off, saying mean things, or threatening to hurt someone) decreased by 42%. Delinquency (destroying property, throwing objects at people or cars, shoplifting, stealing, or vandalism) and fighting (picking a fight, hitting someone with the intent of hurting them, beating someone up, or taking part in a group fight) both decreased by 40%(Botvin et al., 2006).

Olweus Bullying Prevention Program

The Olweus Bullying Prevention Program is a universal, single-approach, multi-level program with an explicit focus on reducing and preventing bullying, and it does so by addressing bullies, victims, and bystanders. The program understands bullying to be aggressive behavior or intentional harm that is carried out repeatedly and over time within an interpersonal relationship characterized by an imbalance of power (Olweus et al., 1999).

The program functions on three levels: school, classroom, and individual. At each level, there are core components of the program. On the school level, the program begins with the administration of the Olweus Bully/Victim Questionnaire that assesses the nature and prevalence of bullying at the particular site. Once the Questionnaire has been administered and the results have been compiled, the school holds a meeting or conference to discuss the results, forms a Bullying Prevention Coordinating Committee, and develops a system for supervising students during break periods in hot spots (identified by the Questionnaire) for bullying. Hot spots often include the playground and the lunchroom. At this initial meeting, plans should be made for implementation at the

classroom level (Olweus et al., 1999). Coordinating committees are also responsible for developing and implementing a positive incentive program that promotes pro-social behaviors (Black et al., 2010).

Interventions at the classroom level include establishing, enforcing and posting rules about bullying. Classrooms will also hold regular class meetings to discuss bullying and its manifestations and remind students about the agreed upon rules. In the class meetings, teaching methods like role playing, writing, and small-group discussion are used to engage students while they learn about the effects of bullying and strategies to stop it (Olweus et al., 1999). The Olweus Bullying Prevention Program does not include explicit directions for material that should be covered or taught in these meetings. Teachers (or other implementers) are instructed to hold these meetings regularly within their classrooms, to let current and culturally relevant issues dictate what they decide to discuss, and to incorporate prevention lessons into standard (math, social studies, literature) curriculum (Black et al., 2010).

The individual level is reserved for students who bully or are bullied, their parents, and representatives from the school. These interventions are designed to eliminate the bullying behavior and provide support for the victim and often occur on-the-spot by teachers or staff. The Olweus Bullying Prevention Program's success largely relies on the adults in the environment to actively support and consistently implement the program and its underlying principles (Olweus et al.,1999).

The most cited evidence of the effectiveness of the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program came out of the initial implementation in Bergen, Norway. Bullying decreased by 50 percent after two years of the program (Olweus, 1993; Black et al., 2010). Other

studies have not replicated that degree of success. Bowllan found that the program had a positive effect on seventh grade females and on teachers, but that no statistical findings emerged for males (2011). Melton et al. found positive effects as well in middle school students in South Carolina, specifically that self-reports of bullying decreased by sixteen percent. But the results were clearly more modest than the original study that Olweus conducted in Norway (1998).

Project Towards No Drug Abuse

Project Towards No Drug Abuse can be used as a universal or selective single-approach program that aims at reducing use of tobacco, alcohol, marijuana, and hard drugs. It has been used as a universal program in traditional high schools but considers its implementation in alternative high schools (where students are often part of high risk populations) a selective application.

Project Towards No Drug Abuse targets high school youth, ages 14 to 19 in a set of 12 interactive sessions that average 40 to 50 minutes each. They are designed to be implemented over a 4-week period and are geared towards addressing motivation, skills, and decision making to avoid drug abuse. The titles of the twelve sessions include: 1) active listening, 2) stereotyping, 3) myths and denials, 4) chemical dependency, 5) talk show, 6) marijuana panel, 7) tobacco cessation, 8) stress, health, and goals, 9) self-control, 10) positive and negative thought and behavior loops, 11) perspectives, and 12) decision-making and commitment. Teachers or health educators teach the sessions (Blueprints for Violence Prevention, 2011).

The efficacy of Project Towards No Drug Abuse has been tested in three experiment field trials that have involved approximately 3,000 youth from 42 schools. At one year follow-up, in comparison to controls, students who received the twelve session program reported a 27% prevalence reduction in cigarette use, a 22% prevalence reduction in marijuana use, a 26% prevalence reduction in hard drug use, and a 9% prevalence reduction in alcohol use among baseline drinkers. Each measure was based on the 30 days prior to the survey (Sussman et al., 2004).

As mentioned in the explanation of Life Skills Training (also a substance abuse prevention), there is a clear positive association between substance abuse and violence (Botvin et al., 2006; Simon et al., 2002). Two reasons could explain why a substance abuse prevention program could also decrease violent acts within schools. The first reason addresses the idea of substances being the causes of violent behavior. Hence, if substance abuse decreases, violence will naturally decrease as well. The second reason references the etiology debate brought up by researchers of Life Skills Training; that is, that there are underlying factors that contribute to both substance abuse and violence. When those underlying factors (e.g., inadequate social problem-solving skills) are addressed, both phenomena decrease (Simon et al., 2002). Simon et al. conducted a study to determine if Project Towards No Drug Abuse effectively decreased violence. They conducted the study within 21 alternative high schools in southern California and found that their hypothesis, that Project Towards No Drug Abuse would decrease aspects of violence, was only partially supported. Males who had received the program reported a significantly lower risk of violent victimization and a "non-significant but encouraging" decrease in weapon-carrying (2002, p. 107).

Research Questions

1. What do school violence prevention curricula reveal about creators' assumptions about the causes of violence?
2. What rules and resources do current violence prevention programs attempt to provide?
    a. How might these rules and resources reproduce structures that decrease or limit violence and precursors of violence?
    b. What kind of structure (signification, legitimation, or domination) does each rule and resource most closely represent?
3. What other rules or resources, not included in these programs, might be beneficial in reproducing structures that discourages violence?

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

General Methodology

These questions will best be answered through qualitative research that digs into the complexities and distinctions of different violence prevention programs. This requires a type of information that goes beyond surface comparisons, categorizations and quantitative profiles and pieces together the assumptions about the causes of violence and the rules and resources provided or influenced by these programs that create and recreate social structures. To answer these research questions, a document analysis of current violent prevention program curricula through the lens of structuration theory has been completed. As McPhee and Poole noted, qualitative work that identifies structures and the processes that reproduce them is critical in structuration theory (1980). Whereas I was searching for evidence of structural solutions within violence prevention programs, a document analysis allowed me to explore what recommendations are being advanced without disrupting a school setting.

Documents are frequently used in qualitative research (Canary & Jennings, 2007; Eagleman, 2011; Gul & Vuran, 2010; Wickens & Sandlin, 2007; Woodhouse, 2006) but a document analysis of program materials does not seem to exist in the violence prevention program literature. “Qualitative document analysis is similar to all qualitative

methodology in that the main emphasis is on discovery and description…rather than mere quantity or numerical relationships between two or more variables" (Altheide, 2000, p. 290). Documents represent both the content and the context of the time and setting in which they are produced and have the ability to influence human actions and structure (Prior, 2003). By studying the program materials, this study will be able to identify commonly held assumptions about violence. The creators' assumptions will emerge in the solutions they offer, but the assumptions of those who select these programs will be evident as well. If, like Johnson and Johnson suggest, these assumptions are faulty, particular violence prevention programs and the industry at large will need to reconsider their approaches to limiting and discouraging violence. Document analysis is also fitting for this study because of limited access to schools that have implemented or are implementing violence prevention programs.

In any given study, documents can be one of multiple sources of data in research design that calls for triangulation; they can also be the only source of data. This particular study has been limited to document analysis.

Program Selection Process

The Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence at the University of Colorado at Boulder recently (as of August 29, 2011) compiled a matrix of 450 social programs used across the country in schools that have been rated by at least one of seven organizations. One of these seven organizations, Blueprints for Violence Prevention, focuses exclusively on violence prevention programs. As part of the larger matrix, this organization has ranked eleven programs as model violence prevention programs. To

qualify for a model rating, Blueprints of Violence Prevention has set the following criteria: evidence of effect with a strong research design, sustained effect (at least one year beyond treatment), and multiple site replication (Blueprints for Violence Prevention, 2011). Of the eleven that were recently ranked as model programs, I selected three: 1) Life Skills Training, 2) Olweus Bullying Prevention Program, and 3) The Project Towards No Drug Abuse. Selecting and studying multiple programs follows the suggestion of McPhee and Poole that "organizational structurationist studies be designed on a comparative basis" (Riley, 1983). These three in particular were selected because they are programs that are implemented within schools, they include a written curriculum that is available to the public (through purchase), and each has been rated very positively by at least four different organizations (Blueprints for Violence Prevention, 2011).

The Coalition for Evidence-Based Policy rated the Life Skills Training program as Top Tier. Top Tier ratings require that the intervention has demonstrated to be effective through at least two randomized controlled trials or through one large multi-site trial. Top Tier ratings are also reserved for interventions that have been "evaluated in real-world community settings with appropriate sample sizes and produce sizable, sustained benefits to participants and/or society" (Blueprints for Violence Prevention, 2011). The Coalition for Evidence-Based Policy does not specify a particular type of intervention (such as substance abuse or violence or teen pregnancy). Their work is largely geared towards enabling good decisions by policymakers and practitioners. The only other rating that the Coalition for Evidence-Based Policy assigns is Near Top Tier (Blueprints for Violence Prevention, 2011).

The National Registry of Evidence-based Programs and Practices (NREPP) has rated both the Life Skills Training program and The Project Towards No Drug Abuse. The NREPP focuses on mental health and substance abuse interventions, which may explain why they have not rated the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program. Life Skills Training received a 3.9-4.0 rating (out of 4.0), and The Project Towards No Drug Abuse received a 2.9-3.4 rating. NREPP assigns two ratings to each program, each on a scale from zero to four. The first rating measures the quality of research that evaluates the program and the second rating deals with readiness for dissemination. Six criteria contribute to determining the quality of research rating: reliability, validity, intervention fidelity, missing data and attrition, potential confounding variables, and appropriateness of analysis. Three criteria are considered under the readiness for dissemination rating: availability of implementation materials, availability of training and support resources, and availability of quality assurance procedures (Blueprints for Violence Prevention, 2011).

All three programs were evaluated by Communities That Care, Developmental Research and Programs. All three were rated as Effective, the only rating assigned by the organization. Programs are awarded the Effective rating if they 1) address research-based risk factors for substance abuse, delinquency, teen pregnancy, school dropout, and violence, 2) increase protective factors, 3) intervene at developmentally appropriate ages, and 4) show significant effects on risk and protective factors in controlled studies or community trials (Blueprints for Violence Prevention, 2011). Communities That Care focuses their efforts on the list of social problems listed in their first criteria of effective programs (Blueprints for Violence Prevention, 2011).

All three programs were also evaluated by the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Model Programs Guide (OJJDP MPG), but all did not receive the same rating. Both Life Skills Training and The Project Towards No Drug Abuse received Exemplary ratings, and Olweus Bullying Prevention Program received an Effective rating. The organization also rates programs as Promising. Four main dimensions determine the ratings: conceptual framework, program fidelity, evaluation design, and empirical evidence. Exemplary programs demonstrate these characteristics to a greater degree than effective programs, the main difference being in evaluation design. Exemplary programs must have experimental evaluation design, and effective programs use "quasi-experimental" evaluation design (Blueprints for Violence Prevention, 2011). The OJJDP works to provide information for practitioners and communities that enables them to make good decisions about the programs they select and implement. It does not have a specific focus but aims to make a more general difference in the lives of children and communities (Blueprints for Violence Prevention, 2011).

Life Skills Training was also rated by the Office of Justice Programs-Crime Solutions (OJP). The OJP focuses their efforts on determining what works in criminal justice, juvenile justice, and crime victim services and assigns three different ratings: Effective, Promising, and No Effects. They are rated in terms of justice-related outcomes based on four criteria: 1) the program's conceptual framework, 2) study design quality, 3) study outcomes, and 4) program fidelity. Effective programs have at least one rigorous study that shows strong evidence of positive justice-related outcomes. Promising programs have some evidence that demonstrates that they have achieved their goals, and the evaluation is slightly less rigorous. Programs that have No Effects have rigorous

evaluations that show no significant effects on justice-related outcomes (Blueprints for Violence Prevention, 2011).

The FindYouthInfo Program Directory rated all three programs. Life Skills Training and The Project Towards No Drug Abuse were both rated as Level 1 programs, and the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program was rated as a Level 2 program. The purpose of the FindYouthInfo Program Directory is prevent delinquency and other behavioral problems associated with young people. It rates a wide variety of programs based on conceptual framework, program fidelity, evaluation design, and empirical evidence and places them in one of three levels. Level 1 is reserved for programs that "demonstrate robust empirical findings, using a reputable conceptual framework and an evaluation design of the highest quality" (Find Youth Info). Level 2 programs show adequate evidence of positive outcomes through often quasi-experimental evaluation methods. Level 3 programs produce generally inconsistent findings and have an underdeveloped evaluation design (Find Youth Info).

Each of the three programs targets a different age-range. Life Skills Training works with students between the ages of 8 and 14 (mid-elementary through middle schools), Olweus Bullying Prevention Programs works with students between the ages of 6 and 14 (elementary and middle schools), and The Project Towards No Drug Abuse works with students between the ages of 14 and 19 (high schools) (Blueprints for Violence Prevention, 2011). Life Skills Training includes a main curriculum and materials for two years of booster sessions. This main curriculum is generally taught in either the sixth or the seventh grade, depending on the structure of the school district in which it is implemented. This original curriculum, which includes both a teacher manual

and a student manual, was selected for study because it includes the most material and will offer the most complete picture of what Life Skills Training aims to offer. Olweus Bullying Prevention Program's program materials are not targeted towards different grade levels. There is a school-wide guide and a teacher guide. Both were reviewed for this study. Project Towards No Drug Abuse also does not differentiate materials for the different grades within the high school, so the standard teacher and student manuals were examined.

As mentioned earlier, all three programs were selected out of the Blueprints for Violence Prevention chart for the focus of this study. This rating system was selected because the Blueprints for Violence Prevention project focuses exclusively on violence prevention programs and generated ratings more recently than any other group or organization that I could find. This group does not, like the Office of Justice Programs, rate programs as having no effects or being ineffective. The only negative information they have released about a program was directed at a program called Scared Straight. The program seems to consist of a DVD, which would not be comparable to the other programs that are largely based on written curricula. The programs that I have selected have also been chosen because there exists an abundance of literature already written about them. For these reasons, ineffective programs are beyond the scope of this study.

Entry was not an issue in this study. I purchased the programs through standard websites. The ethical dilemmas associated with the study of documents revolve around the effects on the producers of the documents (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). In this particular study, it would be the question of how my findings could affect both the writers

of the violence prevention programs that I study and the schools that have implemented those programs.

Analysis Methodology

I analyzed the data by using the constant comparative method to help me identify the rules and resources that reproduce and potentially transform social structures. This type of analysis focuses on the development of categories through coding (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). These categories or themes will be determined based on three criteria: recurrence, repetition, and forcefulness (Owen, 1984). Recurrence happens when ideas or meanings emerge throughout the data multiple times, whereas repetition refers to "an explicit repeated use of the same wording" (Owen, 1984, p. 275). Forcefulness in the case of documents is observed through the underlining or boldening of words and phrases or increased size of font (Owen, 1984).

As the researcher categorizes incidents or segments of the data, each piece is compared to other pieces of data that have been previously coded. Similarities, differences, and relationships between the different incidents or segments become apparent (Glaser, 1965). As suggested by the constant comparative method, I made several comparisons. I compared each program's materials to the other two sets of materials. I compared sections of a program to other sections within that program. I compared the research published on each program to research on the other programs. I compared the literature on each program to other literature on the same program. I compared the data to the categories that emerged and categories with other categories (Charmaz, 2003). Like researchers who read and reread interview transcripts and field

notes, I read and reread the programs' materials, searching for themes in assumptions of the causes of violence and the rules and resources that school settings and violence prevention programs offer that create and recreate social structure.

CHAPTER 4

TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF PROGRAMS' MATERIALS

Studying the program materials through the constant comparative method of analysis yielded several groupings of themes, similarities, and differences among and within the three programs. The currentness of program materials, effectiveness claims, positions on the continuum of fidelity versus tailoring, program goals, and contradictions within and across programs all highlight nuances of the programs that shape the structures of the schools that implement them. Each program seeks to enable and constrain targeted behaviors from a different perspective and through various mediums.

Currentness of Program Materials

Life Skills Training lists 2010 as its most recent publication date. However, the content inside is significantly older. In Teacher's Manual 1, a reference list of evaluation studies is included for educators who want to read and understand more about the program and its proven effectiveness. The most recent article on the list was published in 1999 (Botvin, 2010a, p. 1.6-1.7). Another chapter, also intended strictly for implementers, provides background information on the problems and process of teenage drug use and a brief history of educational programs directed towards that issue. Within that brief history, mention is made of the "new generation of substance abuse prevention

programs," citing three studies, the most recent of which was published in 1992 (Botvin et al., 2010a, p. 3.2). Student Guide 1 includes a chart of statistics that highlights what percentage of 8th, 10th, and 12th grade students are using a variety of drugs on a monthly basis. The chart is based on a study published by the National Institute of Drug Abuse in 2003 (Botvin, 2010b, p.24). Throughout all of the program materials, there is no mention of or reference to methamphetamines while it appears that abuse of this drug seems to be rising (National Drug Threat Assessment, 2011, p. 35).

Most relevant to this study, however, is the absence of the study published in 2006 that showed strong evidence that Life Skills Training decreases violence in schools. In fact, on p. 3.14 in Teacher's Manual 1, the creators explain that "research is currently underway to extend the LST program to violence prevention… Preliminary findings indicate that the LST approach can effectively prevent violence-related behaviors such as fighting and making threats" (Botvin et al., 2010a). This clearly makes no reference to the results of Botvin and colleagues which indicated that violence significantly decreased among students who had been involved in at least half of the intervention sessions. Physical aggression decreased by 30%. Verbal aggression decreased by 42%. Delinquency and fighting both decreased by 40% (Botvin et al., 2006).

It is at least striking that Botvin has not gone back to update the program with the evidence, published in 2006, that affirms that Life Skills Training does decrease elements of violence. The findings were significant and the scale of the study was large, involving 4,858 sixth graders from 20 schools. Surely, this could only increase the credibility of the program among educators, so the question remains, why would this be left out? That the data presented to students is not current is another issue. In the Internet age of

information, students could easily find more recent statistics with a quick search. Neglecting to update both the teacher and student manuals gives the feeling, founded or not, that the program has been abandoned and may have become irrelevant.

Both the school-wide guide and the teacher guide for the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program were copyrighted in 2007. In the list of research articles that these creators provide for educators who want more information about the program and its results, the most recent study was published in 2006 (Olweus et al., 2007a, CD). The program also makes an effort to address current bullying issues by including information on cyber-bullying for both parents and educators and a document about bullying based on perceptions of sexual orientation (Olweus et al., 2007a, CD). Both of these issues merit more attention from the program, but it is promising to see them included to the degree that they are and placed at the very beginning of the program materials.

The third (and most recent) edition of the Project Towards No Drug Abuse manual was printed in and includes information published in 2009. The student workbook includes a chart similar to the one included in the Life Skills Training Student Guide 1, but this chart includes data that was published in 2008 (Sussman, Craig & Moss, 2009b, p. 7). At the end of the fourth session, teachers discuss and distribute a "Self-Help Assistance Toolkit" that addresses nearly a dozen social issues, both from the perspective of the person struggling and the family member or friend. It offers phone numbers and websites of organizations that offer help. Though it was updated in October of 2009, the teacher's manual specifically encourages teachers to "check the websites from time to time to see if they are still active" so they can provide students with correct information (Sussman, Craig & Moss, 2009a, p. 87).

Effectiveness Claims

> Unfortunately, most schools have been using prevention programs which either they have developed themselves or which have been commercially developed. Few of these programs have ever been properly tested…. In some cases, schools are even using prevention program which evaluation research has already shown do not work. (Botvin, 2010a, p. 1.2)

> Nationally, we are investing far more resources in building and maintaining prisons than in primary prevention programs. We have put more emphasis on reacting to violent offenders after the fact and investing in prisons to remove these young people from our communities, than on preventing our children from becoming violent offenders in the first place and retaining them in our communities as responsible, productive citizens. Of course, if we have no effective prevention strategies or programs, there is no choice. (Olweus, Limber, & Mihalic, 2002, p. xiii)

> Very few effective drug abuse prevention programs that target senior high school-age youth have been developed. (Sussman et al., 2009a, p. vi)

> To date, most of the resources committed to the prevention and control of youth violence, at both the national and local levels, have been invested in untested programs based on questionable assumptions and delivered with little consistency or quality control. Further, the vast majority of these programs are not being evaluated. This means we will never know which (if any) of them have had some significant deterrent effect; we will learn nothing from our investment in these programs to improve our understanding of the causes of violence or to guide our future efforts to deter violence; and there will be no real accountability for the expenditures of scarce community resources. Worse yet, some of the most popular programs have actually been demonstrated in careful scientific studies to be *ineffective*, and yet we continue to invest huge sums of money in them for largely political reasons. (Botvin, Mihalic, & Grotpeter, 1998, p. xi)

Each of these programs carries different assumptions about the causes of violence. Each employs different strategies. Each claims a certain superiority to other prevention programs. But one thing that each of these programs declares with clarity and passion is that most prevention programs are either ineffective or have not yet been proven to be effective. The Life Skills Training program materials in particular make a special effort to regularly remind the reader that most programs are ineffective (Botvin, 2010a).

Besides noting that most other programs are ineffective, each program makes an effort within its materials to claim superiority. In the Introduction of Life Skills Training Teacher's Manual 1, authors claim that their program is "the most extensively evaluated substance abuse program available. And the results of studies testing its effectiveness provide solid evidence that it is the best" (Botvin et al., 2010a, p. 1.3). Both the Schoolwide and the Teacher Guide of the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program include introductions highlighting that "OBPP is the most researched and best-known bullying prevention program available today…[and] has over thirty-five years of research behind it" (Olweus et al., 2007a, p. xi). The creators of Project Towards No Drug Abuse make similar claims in their Teacher's Manual, explaining that "Project TND is an effective drug abuse prevention program that is based on more than two decades of research…[and] has been identified as an exemplary, model, or evidenced based program by [several] organizations" (Sussman et al., 2009a, p. vi).

The abundance of these statements and others like them throughout the programs' materials reveals the struggle of the industry to be seen as credible and scientifically proven. That need to be seen as scientific emerges again throughout the articles written about these programs. Though these and other prevention programs address very human problems, they speak about their effectiveness almost exclusively through numbers and statistics generated by survey data (Biggs et al., 2008; Botvin et al., 2006; Bowllan, 2011; De Anda, 1999; Olweus, 1993; Park-Higgerson et al., 2008; Simon et al., 2002; Simon et al., 2008; Simon et al., 2009, Sussman et al., 2004).

Fidelity vs. Adaptability

A debate exists among the prevention program community in terms of whether a program should be highly generalizable or highly targeted. Each position carries with it an assumption about etiology. Those in favor of highly generalizable programs largely believe that the causes of social problems are very similar across cultures and communities. Those who support a more targeted approach believe that causes of the same issues vary among different groups of people (Botvin et al., 2010a). Researchers have found, however, that when the scenarios in role plays are unrealistic and unrepresentative of students' real lives, the students are unable to translate the skills into authentic, everyday situations (Webster, 1993).

This creates a tension between the emphasis on program fidelity and the capacity of a program to be tailored to fit the needs of the schools in which it is implemented. Each of these three programs navigated that tension in distinct ways.

The stance each program takes on the importance of teacher training seems to reflect each program's overall emphasis on program fidelity. For example, the Life Skills Training Teacher's Manual 1 explains that "although teachers involved in the evaluation studies were provided with a one-day orientation workshop, sufficient detail is provided in this manual for the average teacher to be able to conduct the Life Skills Training program without any special training" (Botvin et al., 2010a, 2.2). The rest of the program reflects a similar laxness in regards to fidelity. It is mentioned once in the manual, and even in that instance, the focus is more about the percentage of sessions the students receive rather than on how the sessions are delivered.

In terms of adaptability, this program largely accomplishes that by how it generates the material the students discuss. While the program does offer examples, most of what students discuss as a class stems from their own examples. For example, the session on making decisions offers a few examples of decisions the students make everyday (e.g. what to wear, how much to study, and what time to come home), but the bulk of the conversation revolves around students' own examples of the most difficult decision they have made recently. With those particular decision scenarios as material, the class then works through the decision making process taught earlier in the lesson. This is largely the format of most sessions, which appropriately and relevantly centers the discussions and the learning in topics and situations that are culturally relevant to the particular community.

Fidelity is paramount in the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program. In terms of training, the OBPP expects that every member of the Bullying Prevention Coordinating Committee (BPCC) attend a 2-day training given by a certified Olweus trainer and that every other teacher and staff member (including bus drivers, secretaries, cafeteria workers) attend a 1-day training facilitated by the members of the school's BPCC. The Schoolwide Guide includes a CD full of documents and forms, 2 of which include a log for employees who have received the full 2-day training and a similar log for those who have attended the 1-day training. OBPP encourages schools to train substitute teachers and hold booster training sessions each year. The program also calls for staff discussion groups that meet every 2 weeks the first year of implementation and slightly less frequently after that (Olweus et al., 2007a). All of these program elements are designed to

increase program fidelity. Fidelity is spoken of repeatedly throughout OBPP's written guides but is spoken of as "consistency" rather than "fidelity."

> Bullying problems need to be solved as they happen in a consistent manner across grade levels and in all areas of the school. (Olweus et al., 2007a, p. 10)
>
> The third, of four, core principle states: "Consistently use nonphysical, non-hostile negative consequences when rules are broken." (Olweus et al., 2007a, p. 18)
>
> During these ongoing [BPCC] meetings, it is important to consider how to keep the program visible and consistent throughout the school year. (Olweus et al., 2007a, p. 31)
>
> Meeting regularly with their colleagues [in staff discussion groups] will also ensure that all components of the program are being implemented consistently. (Olweus et al., 2007a, p. 47)
>
> When supervising adults intervene firmly and consistently, this sends and important signal to the bullying students and possible bystanders: We don't accept bullying in our school and such behavior will be stopped. (Olweus et al., 2007a, p. 59)

Part of fidelity in this program, however, is a built-in system to help schools adapt the program to specifically meet their needs. For example, the Bullying Questionnaire that is administered both before implementation and annually following initial implementation is a tool that encourages program tailoring. As administrators and teachers become more aware of bullying hot spots, they are empowered to alter their school's supervisory system to better cover those areas. Another important point is that "OBPP is not a curriculum" (Olweus et al., 2007a, p. 39). Beyond the introduction of the program and a detailed explanation of the four anti-bullying rules (each rule is individually focused on for the first four class meetings after the initial introduction), teachers are instructed to plan weekly class meetings that address current issues that affect the classroom and school climate, allowing teachers to discuss incidents in the

classroom, the community, or in the news. This freedom provides ample room for teachers to make the content of this meeting meaningful and relevant.

The Project Towards No Drug Abuse's emphasis on fidelity lies somewhere between the Life Skills Training approach and the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program approach.

> We know that Project TND works when it is implemented with fidelity by teachers or other program providers who have completed a training workshop conducted by a certified Project TND trainer. Again, in order for the program to be effective, all 12 sessions need to be taught. In addition, the sessions need to be taught as written in the Teacher's Manual, utilizing the content and instructional techniques that are specified. We *strongly* recommend that teachers participate in training prior to beginning program implementation. (Sussman et al., 2009a, p. xi)

The Project TND curriculum includes detailed lesson plans for the teacher for each of the 12 sessions. At least once in every session, an icon appears that designates a portion of bolded text as a "Teacher Summary Statement." These statements "should be stated exactly as written" (Sussman et al., 2009a, p. xii). For example, the summary statement at the close of the first lesson, which the teacher is instructed to read out loud, states,

> To summarize today's session, although it is not always easy to pay attention to what others say and keep an open mind, the more we listen and pay attention, the more we learn and have choices. Ultimately, this will allow us to make better decisions. (Sussman et al., 2009a, p. 10)

Like the Life Skills Training program, the adaptability of this program largely stems from the curriculum's focus on class discussion. Because Project TND was developed for high school students, there is more discussion built into the substance abuse content sessions than comparable sessions in Life Skills Training. However, it should be noted that Project TND's open-ended questions ask about "friends'" experiences with drugs. For example, in Session 5, one of the debriefing questions is

"Has anyone here had a friend or a relative who was or is addicted to drugs? What was it like?" (Sussman et al., 2009a, p. 102). This allows students to talk about real-world examples that are culturally relevant to their classroom without feeling any program-imposed pressure to think about or reveal any information regarding their personal past (or present) drug use.

Explicit Program Goals

The Life Skills Training program describes its objective succinctly. "The main emphasis of the Life Skills Training program is on the development of important personal and social skills" (Botvin et al., 2010a, p. 3.8). This is expanded upon in Student Guide 1.

> To succeed in this world and effectively deal with the many problems facing us requires a specific set of skills. We call these skills "life skills." Surprisingly, these important skills are…rarely taught at all. Instead, we are somehow expected to learn the skills we need to live happy, healthy, and successful lives totally on our own. (Botvin et al, 2010b, p. 6)

The guide goes on to explain that Dr. Gilbert J. Botvin developed Life Skills Training as "an organized way for all junior high students to learn these important skills" (Botvin et al., 2010b, p. 7). On a list of 10 capacities that students will have after receiving the Life Skill Training lessons, no direct mention of substances is made until the tenth item, which claims that students will be able to " resist pressure to use drugs" (Botvin et al., 2010b, p. 7). It is interesting that a program that is largely, though not exclusively, marketed as a substance abuse prevention program seems to define itself as something much larger than that. It is perhaps this broad self-view that encouraged program creators to add three violence prevention lessons and begin to explore the

program's effects in terms of violence prevention. Another explanation of the two different messages about the focus of the program would be the demand of the prevention program community to provide quantitative evidence of efficacy. Whether or not students go on to use drugs is much easier to measure than the overall health, happiness, and success of those same students.

The Olweus Bullying Prevention Program declares, "The goal of OBPP is to change the norms around bullying behavior and to restructure the school setting itself so that bullying is less likely to occur or be rewarded" (Olweus et al., 2007a, p. xi). This idea of a system-wide climate change that restructures the school, not a curriculum, appears several times throughout the program materials. Stated in a slightly different way,

> It should be a major objective for all adults at the school to appear as a unified group with the same attitudes against bullying, the same anti-bullying rules, and the same methods for intervening in bullying situations. The school must bear the marks of a strong anti-bullying culture. (Olweus et al., 2007a, p. 96)

This culture emerges when all of the adults within a school adopt and uphold the four anti-bullying rules through the specified intervention protocol. Adults are the catalysts of change, and it is expected that students will follow.

Though the program regularly emphasizes the bullying definition as mistreatment that happens repeatedly for an extended amount of time between students that have unequal power, teachers and staff are instructed to intervene before patterns are established and without considering if unequal power is at play. So while the program's platform is bullying, in essence, the program works to eliminate all kinds of violence and create a safe and productive school climate.

The Project Towards No Drug Abuse program objectives are narrower than those of the other two.

> At the completion of this program, students will be able to: not start, stop or reduce the use of cigarettes, alcohol, marijuana and hard drugs; not start, stop or reduce weapon carrying; provide accurate information about environmental, social, physiological and emotional consequences of drug misuse and abuse; demonstrate behavioral and cognitive skills; and make a personal commitment about whether or not participants desire to avoid drug abuse. (Sussman et al., 2009a, p. viii)

This narrowness is evident in the content of the curriculum. All but 1 of the 12 sessions is explicitly tied to substance abuse. Life Skills Training, also considered a substance abuse prevention program, exclusively addresses substance abuse in only 6 of the 15 lessons. Of the 3 programs, Project TND has had the least amount of success in terms of violence prevention (Simon et al., 2002). This is likely due to the more limited scope of the curriculum that is reflected in the program's goals.

Unique Program Components

As part of the Life Skills Training program, each student is required to participate in a self-improvement project. This project is addressed only in the first session as part of the Self-Image and Self-Improvement lesson and is "an opportunity for students to work over the course of the program toward improving some specific skill or personal behavior" (Botvin et al., 2010a, p. 2.4). Students subdivide their overall goal into sub-goals, and teachers work with students to make sure their goals are attainable and measurable. Teachers are also instructed to monitor each student's progress on a weekly basis. Students arrive at a goal by writing about how they see themselves, how they would like to be, their strengths, their weakness, and things they would like to change.

Worksheets are provided in Student Guide 1 to lead each student through this process (Botvin et al., 2010b, p. 12-13). Then, the student selects one thing he or she would like to change and sets it as a goal. Page 15 in Student Guide 1 provides a place for students to subdivide their goal into subgoals and record their progress.

This project is never mentioned again in the teacher's manual or student guide. Nor is an explanation of the reasoning behind this project ever offered. Going back to the program's goal, however, one could speculate that this project offers students the autonomy to do something that is personally significant with the support and the accountability system that school offers. While the curriculum offers several explicit rules, or generalizable procedures about how to get things done, this project has the capacity to help students internalize and personalize a very important rule: how to accomplish something.

Olweus Bullying Prevention Program is very unique among school prevention programs in that it is not and does not include a curriculum. Creators of the program have focused many of their program materials around explaining the difference between curriculum based approaches and their to goal to "change the norms around bullying behavior and restructure the school setting itself" (Olweus et al., 2007a, p. xi). This emphasis on what OBPP is not is seen throughout the Schoolwide Guide.

> OBPP is not a curriculum. (Olweus et al., 2007a, p. 2)
>
> OBPP is not a classroom curriculum. It is a whole-school, systems-change program at four different levels. (Olweus et al., 2007a, p. 3)
>
> Because OBPP is not a curriculum, but a comprehensive schoolwide approach, it is important that those overseeing and planning the program, as well as those implementing the program on a day-to-day basis, have a deep understanding of the issue of bullying and how to prevent it. (Olweus et al., 2007a, p. 39)

> [Staff training should] provide a basic understanding of the need for a systems-change approach rather than a curriculum. (Olweus et al., 2007a, p. 42)
>
> It is important to remember that class meetings are not the same as curriculum lessons. The teacher's role in leading class meetings is more of a facilitator than a teacher. (Olweus et al., 2007a, p. 77-78)
>
> OBPP is not a curriculum with a prescribed number of sessions. (Olweus et al., 2007a, p. 95)

The aim of OBPP is that the school climate changes, and it expects that this will happen when adults consistently send the message that students who bully will receive consequences and that adults are there to help those who are bullied. This message does not come from lesson plans that include specific learning activities and group debriefing questions. It comes from seeing several adults effectively intervene across several contexts.

To me, the most unique component of Project Towards No Drug Abuse is not a particular activity or teaching method; it is a content-level focus that surfaces several times throughout the curriculum. The program promotes the development of a system-like awareness that encourages students to see the varied consequences of drugs beyond the obvious, and most talked about, physical effects. This awareness development is most evident in Session Five's Talk Show lesson and Session Nine's Marijuana Panel. In each of these sessions, students are assigned various roles to play. In Session Five, these roles include a current alcoholic and drug addict and his girlfriend, a parent of a teenager who was a victim of a drunk driving accident, a recovering drug addict, a D.U.I. inmate convicted of manslaughter, and the best friend of someone who died of an accidental overdose. Session Nine's Marijuana Panel is structured similarly, with roles including those who use, family members and friends of those who use, and a scientist expert on

the drug and its effects. Students are assigned these roles, given character descriptions and backgrounds to read, and then expected to role play. Students who are not selected for the roles are expected to ask questions that they either generate themselves or read from a list of suggested questions. The teacher plays the role of talk show or panel host in each session (Sussman et al., 2009a).

This encourages students to think about the system of relationships that are affected by substance use. It goes beyond the traditional strategy of a primary focus on physical effects. This larger look at consequences is seen throughout the curriculum. After a scenario exercise dealing with how a family is affected by drug use, the teacher is directed to summarize the lesson by saying, "Substance abuse affects the whole family and all of our relationships" (Sussman et al., 2009a, p. 87). Session Six addresses stress and coping with stress and invites students to think about and discuss the financial stress, relationship stress, school or job stress, emotional stress, health stress, and potential legal problems that could all result from drug use. The Student Workbook contains a chart that explains the effects of chemical dependency on different areas of life including social life, personal life, spiritual life, and economic life (Sussman et al., 2009b, p. 19). This more holistic approach that acknowledges systems provides a more complete picture of a life of substance abuse and seems to be a unique approach among prevention programs.

The Mentioning of Other Effects

Research articles cited in the literature review revealed a strand of thinking around a common etiology of several social problems including violence, substance abuse, delinquency, and teenage pregnancy. Botvin in particular has worked on

understanding those causes and how they relate to these problems in the hopes of developing a program that addresses as many of them as possible. Though the program materials of these three programs do not include explanations of this line of thinking, they refer to it in noting that their programs can potentially have other, more unintended effects, beyond their explicit goals revolving around substance abuse and bullying.

The author of the Life Skills Training program materials references early work in the common etiology debate to suggest that their program may generate positive effects beyond those associated with drugs, alcohol, and tobacco.

> The research of Jessor and others strongly suggests that a number of problem behaviors are caused by the same underlying factors...it has been suggested that prevention programs should be developed which target the underlying determinants of several theoretically and empirically related problem behaviors. This would offer the potential of developing a single program capable of preventing several health problems at the same time. (Botvin, 2010a, p. 3.5)

These vague references to "problem behaviors" and "health problems" most likely include, at their forefront, the problem of violence. Though Botvin's later work, published in 2006, is not referenced in the materials, its clear focus on violence prevention seems to reveal that this social problem was his next target. This reach to prove other positive effects, outside of the reduction of tobacco, marijuana, and alcohol use, surfaces on p. 3.20.

> The Life Skills Training program has also been found to have a positive impact on health knowledge and attitudes, assertiveness, self-mastery and personal control, self-confidence, self satisfaction, and social anxiety…It also has the potential for reducing risk for violence, delinquency, teenage pregnancy and AIDS. (Botvin, 2010a)

The found effects listed here are all explicitly addressed in the program's sessions. The potential effects, with the exception of violence, are never even mentioned in the curriculum.

The program addresses violence mainly through three lessons that are labeled as optional violence prevention units in Teacher's Manual 1. These units include lessons titled "Violence and the Media," "Coping with Anger," and "Resolving Conflicts" (Botvin, 2010a, p. 2.1-2.2). Student Guide 1 provides a definition for students, characterizing a violent act as "an act or a threat that hurts a person or object physically, such as hitting, kicking, and shooting, or verbally, such as screaming and shouting" (Botvin, 2010b, p. 53). The curriculum largely talks about violence in terms of guns, homicide, and other physical affronts. Though this portrayal of violence lacks the nuances that could help students understand violent acts that they are more likely to commit and experience, that these additional units are included also points to the fact that Botvin was looking to expand prevention effects to violence.

Besides an average reduction between 20 and 70% in student reports of being bullied and bullying others and markedly improved school climates, the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program also claims to create "marked reductions in student reports of general antisocial behavior, such as vandalism, fighting, theft, and truancy" (Olweus et al., 2007a, p. 4). Authors also point out that "new research has shown a positive link between bullying and student achievement. Preventing bullying may help schools make improvements in statewide student achievement assessments" (Olweus et al., 2007a, p. 4). It should be noted that this statement makes no claim about causality, as it seems that the directionality of the association has yet to be determined. Olweus and colleagues conclude their declarations of their program's positive effects with familiar vagueness, explaining that "research has shown that using the program over the long term continues

to reduce bullying and other antisocial behavior" (2010a, p. 95). There is, however, no reference to this research to determine what these other antisocial behaviors may include.

The Project Towards No Drug Abuse program materials include no claims, vague or otherwise, that are not already included in the literature review.

Contradictions

Contradictions within and between these programs and the literature on violence prevention programs surface as sites of tension that merit more exploration. Several contradictions emerged in the study of these three programs.

Bullying Definition vs. Implementation

One of the most visible aspects of the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program is its emphasis on the definition of bullying. "A person is bullied when he or she is exposed, repeatedly and over time, to negative actions on the part of one or more other persons, and he or she has difficulty defending himself or herself" (Olweus et al., 2007a, p. xii). This definition is repeated throughout the Schoolwide and Teacher Guides, highlighted on the Bullying Questionnaire administered to students every year, and expected to be taught and discussed in Staff Discussion Groups and Class Meetings. There is a significant emphasis on the necessity of all adults within the school understanding this definition and all of its components. A contradiction surfaces in the actual implementation and the definition of bullying.

Despite the focus on the definition, teachers are instructed to intervene every time any kind of negative behavior comes to their attention.

> While it is essential to understand that bullying happens repeatedly over time, it is not wise (and may even be dangerous) to wait for a pattern to clearly emerge before intervening. You need to respond anytime you observe or become aware of bullying or other related negative behaviors. (Olweus et al., 2007b, p. 13)

A similar contradiction exists in relation to the portion of the definition about bullying involving a power imbalance. Though there is nothing instructing adults to look for the power imbalance before they intervene, the Teacher Guide explains "it is not bullying if there is conflict or aggression between students who are of equal power, whether that be the same physical or mental strength, or social status" (Olweus et al., 2007b, p. 14).

In the Teacher Guide, another distinction is made between bullying and real fighting.

> The major difference between real fighting and bullying, which can also include a real, but usually uneven fight, concerns the repeated nature of the behavior and the balance of power. 'Real' fighting is often a one-time event between two parties of reasonably equal strength or power. (Olweus et al., 2007b, p. 15)

Within the same section, however, teachers are advised to prohibit any and all behaviors that could be related to or perceived as "bullying, rough and tumble play, or real fighting" (Olweus et al., 2007b, p. 15). The instructions go further, explaining the importance that all adults in the school "intervene immediately to stop any inappropriate or suspicious behavior, even though it sometimes may not be aggressive in nature but rather a somewhat noisy but basically friendly interaction" (Olweus, 2010b, pp. 15-16).

Clearly, a teacher would intervene if he or she saw two students name-calling or engaged in a physical fight in the hallway, even if it was the first time it had happened and the students seemed to have the same amount of power. So the emphasis on the definition of what bullying is and what it is not seems to contradict the instructions teachers are given in terms of when to intervene. While the signs and the rules and the

program name specifically reference bullying, the implementation seems address violence in all of its forms and degrees of seriousness.

Self-Esteem Debate

In the Introduction chapter in Teacher's Manual 1 for Life Skill Training, Botvin gives four ways that Life Skills Training is different from other prevention programs. Two of these are relevant here. The first is that this program is "based on science," meaning it is "designed based on the primary causes of substance use after extensive review of the existing research literature" (2010a, p. 1.3). The second reason he lists is that it is "comprehensive," because it "addresses all of the most important factors leading to adolescent substance use" (2010a, p. 1.3). In essence, it was created based on all of the causes of adolescent drug abuse and it addresses all of those causes within the program. One of the many causes listed is low self-esteem (Botvin, 2010a, p. 3.4).

The program addresses this cause in the very first session of Life Skills Training. The session goal, included on the first page of every session lesson plan, is "to teach students what self-image is, how it is formed, how it relates to behavior, and how it may be improved" (Botvin, 2010a, p. 4.1). Student Guide 1 includes a list of four things students can do to improve their self-esteem and a set of worksheets to help them understand and articulate what they currently think of themselves, what they would like to change, and how they can accomplish that change (Botvin, 2010b, pp. 11-15). The Self-Improvement Project is introduced in this session and is intended to be at least a month long learning experience with the end goal of students learning how to set goals

and accomplish them, thereby increasing self-esteem. The rationale behind this is that students with high self-esteem are less likely to become involved with drugs.

Substance abuse and violence, as mentioned earlier, have been associated for a variety of reasons. Some explain that the link is simple, that drug use increases violent behavior. Others believe that the connection is deeper and that the two share a common etiology. Therefore, addressing the set of causes will naturally decrease both drug and violent behaviors.

The contradiction surfaces in the literature reviewed by the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program.

> It is a common belief that students who bully others are tough on the outside and insecure and anxious on the inside. It is also believed that they have poor self-esteem and that this is the driving force behind their bullying. In line with this reasoning, if one only increases their self-esteem, they have no need to bully others and will stop such behavior.
> However, these assumptions are not supported by evidence. OBPP research and other studies indicate that students who bully others tend to have little anxiety and uncertainty or are average in this respect. Their self-esteem is also about average or relatively positive. (Olweus et al., 2007b, p. 22)

The Schoolwide Guide addresses this same issue in a list of ways that schools can "go wrong in addressing bullying" (Olweus et al., 2010a, p. 19). The list includes "Providing Self-Esteem Programs for Students Who Bully" and adds to the explanation in the Teacher Guide, expressing that "working to enhance the self-esteem of [students who bully] will, therefore, do nothing to curb their bullying behavior. It may, in fact, have the undesired effect of strengthening their confidence in their position as aggressors" (Olweus et al., 2010a, p. 20).

What is unclear is if those who perpetrate violence in a way that does not also meet bullying definitions also have average to high self-esteem levels. This contradiction

potentially threatens a purist common etiology stance and could create tension among prevention program developers who are working to address both social issues of substance abuse and violence within one program.

Knowledge as Change Catalyst (Curriculum vs. Culture)

In one of the introductory chapters of Teacher's Manual 1 for Life Skills Training, Botvin explains that most prevention programs "have primarily attempted to increase students' knowledge" in the hopes that knowledge would change attitudes which would then result in different behavior (2010a, p. 3.1). He then clarifies that this approach is ineffective.

> Evaluations of traditional educational programs which focus on providing factual information as their main strategy indicate that increased knowledge does not deter or decrease substance use This approach…is based on faulty assumptions and is too narrow in its focus. (Botvin, 2010a, p. 3.1)

Life Skills Training marks itself as "different" than these other programs partially because it "emphasizes the use of proven skills training methods" (Botvin, 2010a, p. 1.3). But a look through the curriculum's session goals reveals that a significant portion of the program approaches prevention in the very way that Botvin denounces: imparting knowledge. Session six's session goal is "to teach students information about cigarette smoking and other forms of tobacco use to counter common myths and misconceptions" (Botvin, 2010a, p. 6.1). The goal of the seventh session is similar: "to teach students some of the immediate physiological effects of smoking" (p. 7.1). Sessions eight and nine are likewise focused on knowledge dissemination. While other sessions include some sort of skill training, each session includes a list of definitions for the students to learn. There

is no reference to what these "proven skills training methods" are, how they differ from teaching factual information, and how those methods have been researched (p. 1.3).

Project Towards No Drug Abuse also spends several sessions teaching definitions, facts, and effects. Half of the pretest and posttest, designed to demonstrate the effectiveness of the program, focuses on showing that students who have received lessons know more about drugs and their effects than they did before (TND Pretest; TND Posttest). While this might be helpful information, it seems to miss the mark when the ultimate goal is strictly that fewer students are using drugs and that the ones who do use drugs are using less.

Authors of Olweus Bullying Prevention Program agree that teaching about these issues does not create results. "Research has shown that effective bullying prevention programs are those that attempt to change the climate of the school and its expectations for student behavior" (Olweus et al., 2007a, p. 19). This attitude is clearly a driving force in the development of this program that is "not a curriculum" (Olweus et al., 2007a, p. 2). While program developers encourage schools to teach what bullying is and the four anti-bullying rules, the bulk of the program centers on changing norms to create an environment where opportunities and rewards for violence are greatly decreased.

OBPP claims an average reduction of bullying in schools between 20 and 70% (Olweus et al., 2007a, p. 4). This is a large range to report that acknowledges that the results vary greatly between schools. This wide range in results is not reported by either Life Skills Training or Project Towards No Drug Abuse. Perhaps school climate changes are influenced by so many different variables that outcomes are less stable. A curriculum

is simpler, and program fidelity is easier to achieve when the program consists of a series of lessons for teachers to deliver.

Single vs. Multiple Approach

Life Skills Training and Project Towards No Drug abuse are both single-approach programs. Single-approach programs are generally those programs that carry themselves out in the classroom without any outside involvement. Olweus Bullying Prevention Program is categorized as a multiple-approach program, which is any program that encourages outside involvement of parents, community leaders, media, and local law enforcement as part of the school's prevention program. While a large majority of researchers advocate the multiple-approach (Affonso et al., 2010; Dusenbury et al., 1997; Webster, 1993), research, including a meta-analysis, has found that single-approach programs are more effective than multiple-approach programs (Park-Higgerson et al., 2008; Simon et al., 2009).

Olweus Bullying Prevention Program considers itself a four-level program that operates on a school level, classroom level, individual level, and community level. The school, classroom, and individual levels mostly exist within the school, but the community level, obviously, looks outward. The program seeks to involve parents in annual school-wide meetings, classroom meetings held at least twice a year, and on the school's Bullying Prevention Coordinating Committee (BPCC). There are pamphlets and letters on bullying, how to help your child if he or she is bullied, and how to help your child if he or she is bullying, already prepared by program developers, for teachers to send home. The program also encourages schools to seek community involvement by

soliciting members and organizations within the community to help with funding and serve on the BPCC. School administrators are encouraged to reach out to "media, local governments, businesses, community nonprofit organizations, and law enforcement" to help spread the anti-bullying message beyond the school (Olweus et al., 2007a, p. 26).

There is a contradiction in the fact that research has been published stating that single-approach programs are more effective, and that the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program, clearly a multiple-approach program, has consistently been rated highly by groups and organizations that rate prevention programs. Clearly, the multiple-approach program requires more of parents and the community than the single-approach programs. The question, then, is what kind of communities can generate enough parent and community support to sustain a multiple-approach program?

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

To further analyze the data, a review of the textual analysis of the programs' materials has been compiled in a list. This list represents a summary of Chapter 4.

1. Currentness of Program Materials
    a. The Life Skills Training program, though copyrighted in 2010, does not include any information published after 2003.
    b. Olweus Bullying Prevention Program references publications published through 2006. Though updating the materials could be helpful, the program does at least address the current issues of cyberbullying and bullying associated with sexual orientation.
    c. Project Towards No Drug Abuse includes the most recent data, citing work published in 2008.
2. Effectiveness Claims
    a. All programs address that a large majority of prevention programs are ineffective.
    b. All programs claim a personal superiority and cite awards and recognition and research that prove their own program's effectiveness.
3. Fidelity vs. Adaptability
    a. Life Skills Training's stance on teacher training is that it is not necessary.
    b. Olweus Bullying Prevention Program expects that every adult within the school implementing the program will be trained.
    c. Project Towards No Drug Abuse highly recommends that teachers responsible for teaching the sessions be trained.
    d. Life Skills Training and Project Towards No Drug Abuse both depend on the discussion questions suggested in the lesson plans to make the program feel culturally relevant for each school.
    e. Olweus Bullying Prevention Program has built in features that help adapt the program to each school's individual needs. These features include the questionnaire that then influences the supervisory system and the flexibility of how class meetings time is used.
4. Explicit Program Goals

   a. Life Skills Training works to develop happy, healthy, and successful human beings, largely through the prevention of drug use.
   b. Olweus Bullying Prevention Program's goal is to restructure the school setting to limit opportunities and rewards for bullying behaviors.
   c. Project Towards No Drug Abuse explicitly aims to encourage students to not start, stop, or reduce drug use.
5. Unique Program Features
   a. Life Skills Training includes a self-improvement project that should last throughout all of the program's sessions.
   b. Olweus Bullying Prevention Program is not a curriculum but a system-wide change of norms that hurt the school's climate.
   c. Project Towards No Drug Abuse has a very holistic, systems approach to teaching the effects of drug use.
6. Other Effects
   a. Life Skills Training refers to a common etiology that is the source of a variety of social and health problems. The program materials imply that Botvin was also focused on violence prevention.
   b. Olweus Bullying Prevention Program claims to have an effect on decreasing other anti-social behavior.
   c. Project Towards No Drug Abuse addresses no other effects in the program materials.
7. Contradictions
   a. Though the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program is insistent that teachers, staff, and students learn their definition of bullying, the program actually works to address violence in forms that would not be labeled as bullying.
   b. Low self-esteem is cited as a cause of drug use, but research shows that bullies generally have average to high self-esteem. This creates a contradiction in the common etiology stance that claims that addressing the same set of causes will decrease a variety of social issues (including drug abuse and violence).
   c. Botvin, author of Life Skills Training, highlights research that has proven that knowledge itself is not a change catalyst. However, but his program and Project Towards No Drug Abuse include several lessons that are exclusively about information dissemination. Olweus Bullying Prevention Program creators agree that knowledge does not offset problems of violence and uphold that only a culture change can be effective.
   d. Research has shown that single approach programs are more effective and multiple approach programs. Olweus Bullying Prevention Program, however, is a multiple approach program.

The research questions will be answered by looking at the data through the lens of Giddens' structuration theory. The strength in this analysis lies in that it does not make the "fundamental mistake" of perceiving agents and structures as separate and independent. Social research has often focused exclusively on either the agent or the

structure to the detriment of a more complete understanding (Farrall & Bowling, 1999). This same issue, I argue, may be the current issue with violence prevention programs. They either address the individual (micro influences) or the school (macro influences). Perhaps a solution lies in learning to recognize the interdependence of the two and addressing both within the same program.

Assumptions About Causes of Violence

The prevention program materials reveal creators' assumptions about violence and its causes. They also expose assumptions about violence held by individuals working with the Blueprints for Violence Prevention group, because they selected these programs as model violence prevention programs.

Life Skills Training

Botvin, the creator and author of Life Skills Training, firmly adheres to the common etiology stance. The Life Skills Training program materials and the articles he has written explain that he believes that many social problems are related and share similar root causes (Botvin, 2010a, p. 3.5). Therefore, one program that truly addresses these causes can be a significant prevention tool with wide-reaching effects. It is also clear, however, that Botvin began the program development process with substance use prevention in mind.

Botvin also approaches program development with the theoretical position that diminishing known causes of a social problem will then result in a decrease in the prevalence and seriousness of the problem (2010a, p. 1.3). A couple of issues surface

when looking at program development that is based on eliminating or diminishing the causes associated with a particular problem. The first is that research largely seems unclear if some of these supposed causes are truly causal or only correlational. The other issue lies in the sheer number of causes and correlations that have been linked to these different social problems. For example, Botvin identifies 21 causes and correlations of substance abuse.

According to Botvin, individuals are more likely to smoke, drink, or use drugs when they "come from families where one or more members smoke, drink or use drugs" (2010a, p. 3.4), 2) and if their "friends are substance users" (2010a, p. 3.4). The "portrayal of substance use in the popular media as something that is both acceptable and an important part of popularity, sex appeal, and good times" is another powerful influence to use drugs (2010a, p. 3.4). He further explains that low self-esteem, low self-satisfaction, a greater need for social approval, high anxiety, low assertiveness, and an external locus of control are all associated with substance abuse (2010a, p. 3.4). Research has also shown that students who drink, smoke, or use drugs "tend to get lower grades in school" and "do not participate in organized extracurricular activities" (2010a, p. 3.4). This is only part of the extensive list.

The program then systematically addresses the causes or associations that are specifically tied to the agent. For example, the low self-esteem and low self-satisfaction traits are worked on in Session One: Self-Image and Self Improvement. Low social confidence is dealt with in the two sessions that teach social skills, and the tendency towards high anxiety is acknowledged in a session called, "Coping with Anxiety." The media influence is tackled in two sessions, one that focuses on advertising and another

that discusses violence in the media. There is no attempt to even mention structural issues that deal with the home life or choice of friends or the school system. So while Botvin seems to recognize that there are both micro and macro influences that encourage both drug use and violence, the program reveals a belief that only the micro can be dealt with in a school prevention program.

The three designated violence prevention units that Life Skills Training includes (though they are listed as optional) also offer insights into the creator's assumptions about the causes of conflict. The three sessions are titled "Violence and the Media," "Coping with Anger," and "Resolving Conflicts" (Botvin, 2010a, p. 2.1). "Violence and the Media" clearly ties violent behavior to media portrayals of violence, "Coping with Anger" points to anger as a cause of violence, and "Resolving Conflicts" suggests that an inability to effectively work through conflict creates violence. Another cause of violence is mentioned in the eighth session when violence is presented as a possible behavioral effect of drinking alcohol (Botvin, 2010b, p. 37).

Essentially, program materials reveal Botvin's assumptions about causes of violence. Based on his common etiology stance, these causes of violence include the 21 causes he lists as causes or associations of substance abuse and go beyond that stance to include violent media, an inability to cope with anger, ineffective conflict resolution, and alcohol abuse.

Olweus Bullying Prevention Program

The word "violence" rarely appears in Olweus Bullying Prevention Program's Schoolwide or Teacher Guides. The bullying definition, however, surfaces repeatedly. "A

person is bullied when he or she is exposed, repeatedly and over time, to negative actions on the part of one or more other persons, and he or she has difficulty defending himself or herself" (Olweus et al., 2007a, p. xii). The list of different forms of bullying offers further insight into the different behaviors that the program aims to diminish: "physical hitting, verbal taunts, spreading of false rumors, intentional social exclusion, and sending nasty messages on a cell phone or over the Internet" (p. xii). Though this study's definition of violence does not include the elements of the bullying definition that demand that the negative behavior be experienced "repeatedly and over time" and that a power imbalance exist between the perpetrator and the victim of violence, the list of behaviors included in bullying strongly resemble that definition.

This blurry line between violence and bullying is problematic for one main reason. The program materials regularly cite research about students who bully. What is unclear is if those findings also apply to students who behave violently but who would not necessarily, under the Olweus definition, be categorized as bullies. For example, an angry high school student who impulsively slashes the tires of a dozen random cars parked at the football game would not be considered a bully. A popular girl in second grade who spreads one rumor about another girl who is also popular would not be considered a bully either. A boy who shows up to school one day with a gun is technically not a bully. But in each of these examples, there is a person who acts violently. All bullying behavior can be categorized as violent behavior, but not all violent behavior can be categorized as bullying behavior. The question then, is do people who act violently generally have the same motivations, characteristics, and environmental factors surrounding them as bullies?

The Olweus Bullying Prevention Program Teacher Guide includes a section on the characteristics of students who bully others (couched within a larger section on the causes of bullying problems). Like Botvin's list, this list is long, so only some of the characteristics will be listed. Students who bully tend to "have a positive attitude toward violence" and "strong needs to dominate and…to get their own way" (Olweus et al, 2007b, p. 21). They are often "impulsive and easily angered" and "involved in other antisocial or rule-breaking activities such as vandalism, delinquency, and substance abuse" (p. 21-22). Students who bully often have "parents who are not very involved in their children's lives, who lack warmth and positive involvement" and don't "set clear limits on their children's aggressive behavior" (p. 23).

This section also cites research that explains three interrelated motives for bullying:

> 1) Students who bully have strong needs for power and (negative) dominance; they seem to enjoy being 'in control' and subduing others. 2) Students who bully find satisfaction in causing injury and suffering to other students. This is at least partly due to the environment at home, which may have caused hostility within the student. 3) Students who bully are often rewarded in some way for their behavior. This could be material or psychological rewards, such as forcing the student who is bullied to give them money or steal for them, or enjoying the attention, status, and prestige they are granted from other students because of their behavior. (Olweus et al., 2007b, p. 23)

As mentioned earlier, what remains unclear is if these causes of bullying (common characteristics and motivations of those who bully) are also general causes of violence. A partial answer to that is yes, because bullying is violence. The other side of that answer, the side that is still unknown, is if perpetrators of violence who are not bullies by definition share similar characteristics and motivations. If they do, these

characteristics and motivations represent the assumptions about causes of violence of the creators of the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program.

Without an explicit clarification of these terms from the creators of the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program, it can be assumed that they would cite the following as causes of violence: positive attitudes towards violence, a need to dominate, impulsiveness, anger, and a tendency to break other rules. These are internal characteristics of those who would be likely to perpetrate violence. Environmental causes of violence would include uninvolved parents who do not set limits and some type of reward for violent behavior. These rewards could be material or psychological, such as money from the student the bully stole from or attention from adults (Olweus et al., 2007b, p. 23).

Project Towards No Drug Abuse

Project Towards No Drug Abuse makes very few references to violence. Though an explicit aim of the program is for students to "not start, stop, or reduce weapon carrying" (Sussman et al., 2009a, p. viii), it, or anything else tied to violence, is not discussed at any length with students throughout the sessions. It is also important to note that weapon carrying is just one of many kinds of violence. This failure to really address violence within the curriculum alludes to creators' belief in a common etiology that connects substance abuse and violence. Though this stance is not mentioned within the program materials, Sussman supports it in an article published specifically about PTND's effects on violence (Simon et al., 2002).

The PTND creators draw from a theoretical background that looks to create change through a "motivation, skills, decision-making model" (Sussman et al., 2009a, p. vii). Essentially, the authors believe that by changing the inputs, or providing different rules and resources, the outputs change. They do not, however, explain what these specific motivations, skills, and decision-making processes are that need to be swapped out for motivations, skills, and decision-making processes that generate more socially appropriate outputs, such as decreased substance abuse and violence. Though the titles and descriptions of the curriculum offer clues to what they may be, the violence prevention strategies found in the student workbook are more helpful in revealing the creators' assumptions about causes of violence.

> 1. Find resources in your community to help you resolve conflict, such as peer or adult mediators, church leaders, or talking to other adults that you trust.
> 2. Learn to talk it out, avoid, ignore, or minimize dares to engage in violence. Try to see the situation through the other person's eyes. You might say something like 'I'm sorry,' or make a joke, or say something positive to the other person.
> 3. Learn to keep calm. Get away from the situation, or count to 20 and think about your options. (Real toughness is not letting others press your buttons.)
> 4. Practice assertiveness. (For example, an assertive statement is: 'I know you are upset, but I don't mean any harm. We're good.')
> 5. Think past the situation. (Set future goals for yourself.). (Sussman et al., 2009b, p. 60)

This list seems to refer to physical violence, not the broad spectrum that this study understands violence to be. Keeping calm and being assertive is probably not something that would prevent someone who perpetrates violence in more subtle ways, like spreading rumors or ostracizing someone, from doing so. In terms of causes of physical violence, however, an interesting theme surfaces. The authors allude to a lack of communication skills and resources as causes of violence. Finding an adult to talk to, learning to talk it out and keep calm, and practicing assertiveness explicitly refer to communication skills

as both causal and preventative of this kind of violence. These skills are also elements of a decision-making process that encourages people to avoid immediate emotional reactions. A motivation that surfaces as a potential cause of violence is the absence of goals or a vision of the future; that without a bigger, more long-term desire, people are more likely to make violent mistakes.

Two brief references to violence in the curriculum reveal other assumptions about causes of violence. "Partying involves a lot of social interaction. However, violence is also associated with drug use. People often argue and fight more when they are using than they do when they are sober" (Sussman et al., 2009b, p. 8). This cites the most obvious and common tie between substance abuse and violence: that substance abuse itself causes violence. Session Six, "Stress, Health, and Goals" (2009a, p. 113) does not explicitly name "violence" as its topic, but it certainly relates to it. In the student guide there is a series of pages that list strategies for coping with stress:

> Below are some techniques for coping with stress. Some techniques work better than others, depending on how much stress we are experiencing. Accepting that it is okay to feel sad or angry means that we can work through the sadness or anger instead of acting it out. These techniques can help make the strong feelings go away. (Sussman et al., 2009b, p. 35)

This could reveal an assumption that violence is caused by stress and an inability to cope with that stress. Botvin also cites that as a cause of substance abuse in the Life Skills Training program materials. Based on the common etiology stance, it would likewise be a cause of violence.

In summary, the Project Towards No Drug Abuse creators have developed a program that reveals the following assumptions of causes of violence: 1) the same causes

of substance abuse, 2) a lack of communication skills, 3) the absence of future goals or plans, 4) substance abuse itself, and 5) an inability to cope with stress.

Blueprints for Violence Prevention

It is also important to examine the assumptions of the group who labeled all three of these programs as violence prevention programs. Since this study began, the project's website has been updated. Though it is still run by the Center for the Study and Prevention of Violence at the University of Colorado Boulder and is still technically called Blueprints for Violence Prevention, the main logo now reads differently: "Blueprints for Healthy Youth Development" (Blueprints for Violence Prevention). The mission statement has also been expanded, explaining that, "The Blueprints mission is to identify truly outstanding violence and drug prevention programs that meet a high scientific standard of effectiveness" (Blueprints for Violence Prevention).

This dual focus, the lack of a violence definition in the project's resources, and the variety of programs that the project has identified as model violence prevention programs showcases the ambiguity and diversity of the field. For example, among the eleven programs selected as model programs, there are also mentoring programs (Big Brothers Big Sisters of America), therapy programs (Functional Family Therapy), foster care programs (Multidimensional Treatment Foster Care), and nursing programs (Nurse-Family Partnership). The variety among these programs leaves the observer with limited information about what violence is, what causes it, and what might help prevent it. Perhaps the answer is that we still know very little about what causes violence or that there are so many varied causes that one program cannot address them all. In response,

program developers may resort to picking a list of associations that resonate with them to build their programs.

Optimistically, it may point to the fact that there are several rules and resources that reproduce structures that enable healthy behaviors and constrain violent behaviors. An examination of just three violence prevention programs produces an extensive and varied list of supposed causes of violence. Based on these causes, the authors have developed their respective programs. To some degree, all three of these programs have had success in decreasing violence within schools. This suggests that there is no single structure that is necessary for schools to reduce the many behaviors that fall within the definition of violence.

Assumptions as Resources

These assumptions, whatever they may be, are resources, called upon by creators of these prevention programs, that enable and constrain their decisions in the development of their programs. For example, a belief or assumption that violence is partially caused by social isolation would enable, or encourage, creators to explore options for creating group cohesion within schools. It might constrain them by discouraging them from developing a self-study prevention program that students could work through by themselves. This connection between the causes of violence and the decisions that program developers make is part of the reflexive monitoring process. Program creators, as knowledgeable agents, are likely very aware of their beliefs and assumptions about the causes of these social problems. This is evident in the research each program cites that gives credibility to their own list of causes. These causes, as

resources, inform the agents', or program developers', decisions that aim to reproduce structures in schools that enable pro-social behavior while constraining violent behavior. Their understanding of causes are critical stocks of knowledge that the creators of all three programs seem to rely on heavily. A change in that understanding would hopefully be reflected in the updating of program materials.

Rules and Resources Provided by Programs

By way of review, in this study, a rule is understood as a generalizable procedure about how to get things done (Miller, 2005). A resource is "anything people are able to use in action, whether material (money, tools) or nonmaterial (knowledge, skill)" (Poole & McPhee, 2005, p. 174). Rules and resources together form structures that are reproduced only as people enact these structures, often in social interaction. My intention here is to break out the rules and resources of each program, highlighting specific rules and resources that are either highly representative of other rules and resources or noticeably unique.

Certain rules and resources are provided by all three programs. One rule that all three of these programs perpetuate is that violence prevention measures should happen within schools. Each time one of these programs is implemented, that rule is called upon and enacted. While others might not accept and act upon this rule, as evidenced by the variety of programs that clearly take place outside of the school system, it is a rule that all three of these programs adhere to and distribute through their program materials.

Another rule shared throughout the programs is that each classroom should adopt Ground Rules that are separate from the standard classroom rules that are already in

place. This works to set the time spent in the lessons (for Life Skills Training and Project Towards No Drug Abuse) or in class meetings apart from the rest of the time students spend in the classroom. In a sense, it creates a new space with slightly different norms.

1. Have students sit in a circle.
2. Everyone should be given an opportunity to participate.
3. Only on person talks at a time (although it may be better to allow students to speak up whenever they have something to contribute, its is sometimes necessary to have students in large classes raise their hands in order to avoid having students talking over one another).
4. Everyone is free to express their opinions or participate in class activities without being subjected to criticism.
5. No one should be forced to participate if he/she really does not want to, although everyone should be encouraged to do so. (Botvin, 2010a, p. 2.6)

1. We raise our hands when we want to say something.
2. Everyone has the right to be heard.
3. We let others speak without interrupting.
4. Everyone has the right to pass.
5. We can disagree without being disagreeable or saying mean things. No put-downs
6. When talking about bullying or other problems between students, we don't mention names. (Olweus et al., 2007b, p. 70)

1. Keep personal information that students share confidential.
2. No judging or making fun.
3. No mentioning of names. (Sussman et al., 2009a, p. 3)

For example, Life Skills Training suggests that one rule is that students sit in a circle for the Life Skills Training sessions (Botvin, 2010a, p. 2.6). This physically marks the space as different. Other rules do the same thing, but in symbolic ways.

Each of the programs also draws on a similar resource in the documented claims of their own effectiveness. Within the program materials of each program, authors cite awards, recognitions, and research done that prove that their particular program works. In an education environment where teachers are increasingly asked to do more, this move to establish credibility could be a significant resource in developing teacher commitment to the program. That teachers believe in the program they are teaching or implementing is

critical to success, especially with the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program. The Olweus Bullying Prevention Program in particular requires teachers to be ready to teach and enforce the four anti-bullying rules at all times. There is not a particular space or time, unlike the other two programs, where program implementation happens. It is a culture shift which demands that all of the adults in the school are consistent in how and when they intervene. This permanence and prevalence of the program within the school makes teacher commitment an absolute requirement. But all programs ask teachers to spend time, both inside and outside of the classroom, to make these programs work. A degree of buy-in is certainly needed for that to happen, and this resource of cited awards, recognitions, and research could certainly help accomplish that.

Life Skills Training Rules

Life Skills Training rules are almost exclusively geared towards teaching the student how to be successful. Over the course of the curriculum, students learn a variety of procedures that explain how to do a variety of things. Some of these step-by-step sets of rules include how to set goals (Botvin, 2010b, p. 14), how to decrease anxiety (2010b, p. 57), rules for communication that avoids misunderstandings (2010b, p. 67), how to ask someone out (2010a, p. 16.4), and rules for solving the problem (2010a, p. 18.4). (A more complete list of the rules provided by Life Skills Training can be found in Appendix A.)

The rules are found in a similar format throughout Teacher Manual 1 and Student Guide 1. They are generally simple, numbered lists that explain the appropriate and effective way to accomplish something. How to set goals is a generic example of how these rules are typically presented:

1. Pick a goal that is realistic. Set a goal for yourself which is possible for you to accomplish within a reasonable amount of time (for example, by the end of the school semester).
2. Pick a goal that is manageable, that you can break down into a series of small steps (or sub-goals). The best way to change a behavior is to do it in small steps.
3. Pick a goal which is measurable (for example, how far you jog) so you can tell whether you have achieved it or how much further you have to improve before you do.
4. Pick something that is meaningful to you, something that you really want to do rather than something you feel you should do. (Botvin, 2010b, p. 14)

These rules clearly teach important processes. Few people would argue that developing social skills or learning how to set and accomplish goals are unimportant. But the way in which these are taught may be problematic. Each of these rules is essentially a to-do list. The steps are numbered and explain the four steps of setting goals or three options of decreasing anxiety. But how many fourth graders, when they begin to feel anxious or nervous will sit down to do a relaxation exercise, engage in mental rehearsal or remember to do some deep breathing (2010b, p. 57)? Or what does it mean to a sixth grader when he or she reads that the first rule of communication that avoids misunderstanding is to send the same message both verbally and nonverbally (2010b, p. 67)?

Though I have reviewed some of the explicit rules, the implicit and larger rule is that students should do these things. They should improve their self-image, overcome shyness, resist the influence of the media, assert their rights, and so forth. This, essentially, is the recipe version of how to have a happy, healthy, and successful life. What is ignored or neglected here, however, is that these rules or structures may not fit in every student's life.

Some of the rules provided by the program are directed towards teachers about training and implementation, but these are few when compared to the overwhelming emphasis on empowering the agent (student), and the agent alone, to prevent violence by teaching him or her how to do certain things that relate to researched causes and associations of substance abuse and violence. It should also be noted that these rules do not exist as structures until they are enacted in some way by an agent. If these potential rules stay in the manuals, unmentioned and unapplied, they never become structures.

Life Skills Training Resources

Resources are the other significant ingredient of structure. Within the Life Skills Training Program materials, the most abundant resource is knowledge. This knowledge is represented by definitions and concepts taught by the teacher throughout the sessions and includes 63 of the 77 identified resources.

Examples of these resources include the definitions of self-image (Botvin, 2010a, p. 4.3), risk factors (p. 6.14), biofeedback (7.14), psychoactive (p. 9.11), and negotiation (p. 18.7). Concepts or topics covered in sessions include, but are not limited to, non-smokers' rights (p. 6.8), the effects of alcohol (p. 8.3), advertising techniques (p. 10.3-10.5), and the benefits of being assertive (p. 17.4). (A more complete list of the resources provided by Life Skills Training can be found in Appendix A.)

Clearly, students are instructed about a wide variety of topics. Botvin has selected these topics because they relate back to the causes of substance abuse. Knowledge appears to be the most prevalent resource provided by Life Skills Training, which is at least ironic because of statements Botvin has made about the ineffectiveness of teaching

factual information in terms of creating behavioral changes. While the knowledge may not be a catalyst for change, it certainly does not hurt the process. Understanding what these substances are and their effects may not change students' behavior, but it may dispel some myths and provide some support for students who have already made the decision to avoid substances and violence. In short, knowledge is necessary but not sufficient.

Life Skills Training, however, does provide students with other resources that are also significant. The program gives students time to be reflective. The questions, discussions, and worksheets encourage students to think about their own circumstances and decisions. This thinking process may be a new experience for some students that allows them to think through their behaviors and the consequences of those behaviors. Three of the sessions (one on tobacco, one on alcohol, and one on marijuana) include worksheets in the student guide that highlight this resource. On these worksheets, students are expected to write their own reasons for not smoking, not drinking, and not using marijuana. Ideally, students are given the time to think about and identify their personal motivations for avoiding these substances. This exercise combines authoritative resources (knowledge from the session about what each substance is and the effects of that substance and time to reflect) and allocative resources (the physical workbook and the worksheets). This structure is a typical structure found in education (knowledge, time, and physical materials to record work or learning) that includes elements that may not be so typical: time and encouragement to be self-reflexive and the development of students' own reasons to do something.

The student workbooks, mentioned above, are important allocative resources provided by the program. The books include summaries of information taught and worksheets where the students process that information in ways that relate to them. For example, the lesson about violence in the media instructs students to watch a couple of their favorite shows and record instances of violence. Then they bring those notes to class and talk about whether or not the show depicted the consequences of violence, why media includes so much violence, and if the portrayals of violence are realistic (Botvin, 2010b, pp. 53-55). With a variety of topics, the workbooks provide a physical and mental place for the students to learn the material in a way that starts with their own experiences and understandings

What is clear is that rules and resources are largely geared towards students in Life Skills Training, specifically at addressing the micro (or individual) characteristics that are associated with substance abuse and violence. While teachers are instructed to make ground rules that set up the Life Skills Training sessions as safe places, these instructions are not a focus of the program, nor do they necessarily apply to the classroom or the school outside of the Life Skills Training sessions. In essence, an examination of the rules and resources provided by this program reveal that the author of Life Skills Training has failed to address how the macro environment contributes to the issues of substance abuse and violence.

Olweus Bullying Prevention Program Rules

The Olweus Bullying Prevention Program very much focuses on environmental factors. Nearly every rule provided by the program, with the exception of the literal four

anti-bullying rules, deals with how adults should restructure the school setting to diminish the opportunities and rewards for bullying. Rules typical of this program include: 1) avoid the labels of bully and victim when talking with students (Olweus et al., 2007a, p. xii), 2) the questionnaire should be administered before the program is implemented and yearly (in the same month each year) after that (2007a, p. 22), 3) the four anti-bullying rules should be posted in every classroom and throughout the school in high-traffic areas (2007a, p. 75), and 4) how to intervene in bullying situations (2007a, p. 68). (A more complete list of the rules provided by the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program can be found in Appendix B.)

Most of the rules are straightforward. Teachers and adults within the school generally know if they are avoiding the bully and victim labels and how to stop doing so if they are not. Posting the rules throughout the school is clear instruction as well. But some of the rules seem to require more information than is given. For example, there are six main steps involved in a bullying situation intervention:

1. Stop the bullying
2. Support the student who is being bullied.
3. To the bullying student(s): Name the bullying behavior and refer to the four anti-bullying rules.
4. Empower the bystanders with appreciation if they were supportive to the student who was bullied or with information about how to act in the future.
5. Impose immediate and appropriate consequences for the student(s) who bullied.
6. Take steps to make sure the bullied student will be protected from future bullying. (Olweus et al., 2007a, p. 68)

The message is clear: adults in the school are responsible for creating an environment that does not tolerate violence. There is no explicit focus on teaching students what to do or how to act, though some of that happens within class meetings. While Life Skills Training has a clear curriculum that teaches how to deal with anxiety or

anger with clear, though overly simplified, to-do lists and steps, the Olweus Bullying Program expects students to learn those same things from an environment, established by the adults, that rewards appropriate behavior and punishes violent behavior. Life Skills Training assumes that the students will change themselves, which will then change the school climate. Olweus Bullying Prevention Program takes the opposite approach, instructing teachers how to change the school climate first, then hoping that students, by experiencing rewards for socially appropriate behavior and punishments for violent or bullying behavior, will change.

Olweus Bullying Prevention Program Resources

This orientation is also reflected in the identified resources of the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program. Like the rules, the large majority of these resources are directed toward adults in the school who are then responsible to restructure the environment.

A significant number of these resources are allocative resources, meaning that they are physical resources. There is an outline for staff meetings (Olweus et al., 2007a, DVD Ch 7), a program implementation timeline (2007a, p. 13), parent pamphlets that explain the program (2007a, DVD Ch 13), staff discussion logs (2007a, DVD Ch 7), and poster PDFs that list the four anti-bullying rules that are ready to be printed (2007a, DVD Ch 9). The readiness of these resources allows schools to focus on the principles of the program and the training of the adults within the school instead of working through some of the details that are important but not fundamental to the program.

Another important allocative resource is the Bullying Questionnaire that is administered before implementation and on a yearly basis in following years. The first administration of the questionnaire should happen before the kick-off event but 6 to 8 weeks into the new school year or after coming back from winter break. Following that initial implementation, the questionnaire should be administered yearly at the same time each year. All students should fill out the questionnaire on the same day and at the same time. The questionnaire is anonymous and only asks if the student is a boy or a girl. All other questions aim at answering six questions:

1. How frequently are students in our school bullying or being bullied?
2. What types of bullying are most common?
3. Where does bullying occur?
4. How often do student report bullying? To whom?
5. How do students feel about bullying?
6. How responsive do they feel adults are to bullying at school? (Olweus et al., 2007a, p. 34)

Answers to these questions "will help you plan your bullying prevention program to meet the specific needs of your school and will help you monitor effectiveness in subsequent years" (Olweus et al., 2007a, p. 36). Essentially, this allocative resource generates an even more important resource: knowledge about the bullying practices within the school.

One resource that this program can potentially develop for students is a new set of norms. This is a resource that can be developed only by the schools, meaning it is not strictly provided by the program within the program materials. Adults trained in the program systematically generate these new norms by changing the school's culture. This is done through a variety of small changes that include, but are not limited to, the adoption of the four anti-bullying rules in every classroom and space within the school, posters of these rules, class meetings, consistent interventions, and a responsive

supervisory system. Over time, this creates new norms for students around how they treat each other. A new standard is developed and students hopefully begin to hold themselves and others to a new set of behavioral rules. (A more complete list of the resources provided by the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program can be found in Appendix B.)

Project Towards No Drug Abuse Rules

Project Towards No Drug Abuse offers rules and resources similar to those provided by Life Skills Training. Some of the rules are about implementation (i.e. that each of the twelve sessions should last 45 minutes or how to run the TND Game), and some of them are geared towards teaching students how to do certain things, like make decisions or quit smoking. A typical rule from this program is illustrated in the listening rules:

1. Look at the speaker and pay attention to what he/she is saying.
2. Be respectful of differences of opinion-keep an open mind.
3. Acknowledge what the speaker is saying by nodding, having eye contact, etc.
4. Ask questions if you don't understand. (Sussman et al., 2009b, p. 2)

Like Life Skills Training, the focus is on providing structures to change the agent, not the environment. The idea is that if students learn how to listen (2009b, p. 2), how to speak assertively (2009a, p. 177), how to prevent violence (2009b, p. 60), or how to make decisions (2009b, p. 62), they will be able to do so, and that these skills relate to decreasing substance abuse and violence. Like Life Skills Training, these skills come in the form of numbered steps that are listed in a student manual. There are, however, far fewer sets of these rules in the Project Towards No Drug Abuse curriculum when compared to the Life Skills Training curriculum. While it is clear, based on research, that something within these programs is effective in decreasing both substance abuse and

violence, it is unclear how this actually happens. These skills broken down into steps seem so one-dimensional and diluted that it is difficult for me to imagine them actually influencing behavior. (A more complete list of the rules provided by Project Towards No Drug Abuse can be found in Appendix C.)

The most detailed list of rules comes not in terms of content to be taught but in instructions of how to play the TND Game that classes play at the beginning and close of each session to review program material. The game is a six-question review. The six questions at the beginning of the session can review any material from all previous sessions, but the game at the end of the session only reviews what has been covered in that particular session. The class is split into two teams that stay in tact throughout the program, and they move around a circular board as they answer questions correctly. Each question is worth a specific number of points, which translates to the number of spaces the team moves on the board. The team that has circled the board the most times by the end of the program wins. It serves as both a way to mark the space and time as different or to separate it from the rest of school learning and a way to review the material. The exact rules are listed below:

1. Explain to the class that if time allows, each session will begin and end by playing the TND game.
2. Explain that the game will consist of review questions from previous sessions. Before the session begins each day, the class will review material from all previous sessions. At the end of each session, the class will review that day's material.
3. Divide the class into 2 teams for the TND Game. Pass around the roll sheet and have students sign it to indicate which team they are on. Teams may give themselves a Team Name if they desire (other than Team A and Team B).
4. Explain that the starting player from each team may select Question A to F. Each question has been pre-assigned a point value. Each question is worth from 1 to 3 point. Point value is revealed when a question is chosen. This determines how many spaces can be moved on the game board if the question is answered correctly.

5. Flip a coin and have someone call “heads” or “tails” to determine which team will go first.
6. The “play” switches from team to team regardless of answers given. Be sure to give each team an equal opportunity to score points. The “play” may immediately switch to the other team if: Team members yell out an answer without being called on OR team members make fun of or put down another classmate.
7. There is one bonus question per game. The bonus has been attached arbitrarily to one of the six questions. If students select the question that has the bonus, they will move ahead 5 additional spaces if they correctly answer the question.
8. Explain that the game will continue each day of TND and points will accumulate (that is, totals each day on the game score sheet are recorded as cumulative). The winning team members will receive a reward (extra credit or a prize) on the last day of the program. (Sussman et al., 2009a, p. xv)

This list is more detailed and direct than any other rule in all of the program’s materials. Which is ironic, because listening, quitting tobacco use, and preventing violence are far more complicated and significant processes than the basics of playing a review game. That they are so complex may be the reason why authors choose to simplify them. But they deserve a more detailed and nuanced teaching that reflects their importance and the influence of context in every situation and interaction where these rules might be enacted. Nearly anyone could read these instructions and understand how to facilitate the game. But I would argue that few listen, quit using tobacco, or effectively prevent violence based on the under-complicated rules provided in the same manual.

Project Towards No Drug Abuse Resources

Like Life Skills Training, knowledge is the most obvious resource provided by the Project Towards No Drug Abuse curriculum. It comes through the teaching of definitions and concepts to students and information sheets for teachers who need more information about drugs, their common names, and effects. Examples of the concepts and definitions include self-fulfilling prophecy (Sussman et al., 2009a, p. 29), the stages of

chemical dependence (2009a, p. 82), stress (2009a, p. 116), and tobacco facts (2009a, p. 156-161). This knowledge, intended for both students and teachers, is an authoritative resource. (A more complete list of the resources provided by Project Towards No Drug Abuse can be found in Appendix C.)

The program also offers allocative resources. The pre-test and post-test, designed to measure student progress, are important resources offered by Project Towards No Drug Abuse. Unlike the Bullying Questionnaire, however, they seem to be optional. These tests solicit information about the student and his or her background, including who they live with (e.g., both parents, only with my mother, only with my father, etc.), types of jobs their parents' have, parents' education levels, ethnic background, and preferred language. The pretest goes on to ask how many times the student has tried a particular drug in their lifetime and then in the last 30 days. The next section of eight questions deals with violence indicators (e.g. yelling at people, carrying a knife, being threatened, etc.). The bulk of the survey focuses on content that will be taught through the PTND sessions, asking questions like, "Which of the following is not a myth of drug use?" or "What is the third leading cause of preventable death?" The pretest concludes with one final question, asking how likely it is that the student will use a particular drug in the next year (TND Pretest).

The posttest includes everything in the pretest verbatim but adds a final section, asking the student to rate how much they liked each of the 12 lessons and overall impressions of the topics and activities (TND Posttest). Unlike the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program, there is very little instruction in regards to how to administer the test

and what to do with the results beyond the obvious of checking for effectiveness of the program.

Another important allocative resource is the Self-Help Assitance Toolkit. This toolkit comes in the form of a "reference guide to get help or information in a variety of health areas" (Sussman et al., 2009a, p. 94). It lists phone numbers and websites for those who are struggling to quit drugs or alcohol, those who are struggling with a family member due to their alcohol or drug use, those who are runaways or thinking about running away, those who have been abused or know of an abuse situation, and those who are pregnant and need support. The list goes on to include contact information for those who are struggling with a variety of other issues. Unlike Life Skills Training, Project Towards No Drug Abuse is not strictly preventative. It provides resources for those already involved in substance abuse. This prevent or reduce stance is logical because this program is geared towards high school students rather than middle school students.

Structures That Decrease or Limit Violence

These rules and resources have been identified with the goal of understanding how they might reproduce structures that decrease or limit violence and precursors to violence. This section analyzes how these structures might do that.

Life Skills Training

The correlation between the potential rules and resources Life Skills Training offers and the causes of substance abuse that Botvin cites is clear. For example, low self-esteem is a cause of substance abuse, so there is a session that includes rules about

improving self-esteem and the resource of the Self-Improvement Project that provides students with time, direction, and encouragement to accomplish something that is important to them. In this way, the topics covered throughout the curriculum make sense when looked at next to the list of causes of substance abuse that Botvin has identified.

But how those causes are addressed may be a problem. While Botvin has cited research, that he himself has authored, that provides evidence that Life Skills Training translates across cultures and socioeconomic statuses, it is hard to believe that many of the rules offered by the program would resonate with those outside of a middle-class audience. Actually, it is hard to believe that these rules are meaningful and productive anywhere. These how-to lists are under-elaborated and over-simplified. If communication, relationships, and success were as formulaic as Life Skills Training presents them to be, divorce rates would be lower, high school graduation rates would be higher, and politicians might be able to stay in dialogue long enough to actually understand one another. Perhaps more than ever before, children and adolescents are aware that their world is complex. They are likely unaware of the conflict in Syria and the struggling European economy, but many of these kids, especially those in inner-cities where many of these programs are tested, instinctively know, for example, that coping with anxiety is a lot bigger than some breathing exercises. After a few sessions of these rules, it is not difficult to imagine the whole program losing credibility with a student who senses that the program is a bit naïve, or worse, inapplicable in the reality of his or her life. So while there appears to be an understanding or at least a systematic approach to decreasing substance abuse and violence by decreasing the causes of those problems,

the rules and resources offered to do that seem unlikely to be enacted because of how simple and acontextual they are.

They also largely fail to acknowledge the causes that are tied to the social structure, or the environment. (The exceptions to this are the two sessions that address advertising and violence in the media.) There is no move to address family, friends, or the school, all of which surface as integral parts in certain causes and correlations of substance abuse. Everything depends on the agent, or the student, enacting the rules and resources provided by the program and making choices that avoid substance abuse and violence. No part of the program attempts to create an environment that would enable those same decisions.

While there are clearly problems with the curriculum, the research done with Life Skills Training has shown that the program does decrease both substance abuse and violence to some degree. The knowledge structures provided by program resources may partially contribute to this success. The information is presented in a clear, age-appropriate format. But as mentioned earlier, knowledge is necessary but insufficient when standing alone. The commitment worksheets found in Student Guide 1 may be this extension of knowledge that provides students with a physical space to apply their newly acquired knowledge. On these pages, students list their own reasons for avoiding tobacco (Botvin, 2010b, p. 27), alcohol (2010b, p. 40), and marijuana (2010b, p. 44). They write these reasons at the end of the sessions after they have learned about the effects of these substances and engaged in a discussion with classmates about why others might choose to avoid these substances. This kind of application may be a strong motivator for students because they have identified personal reasons to act in a certain way. If substance abuse

decreases because of this and other structures throughout the program, it would seem natural for violence to also decrease.

I have described the rules provided by this program as being too simple and out of context for many populations. This might be overcome as students practice these rules and adapt them to fit their own circumstances and communities. It is possible that the enactment of these rules alters the written rules so they can be more effective. Practicing the rules is a regular part of the Life Skills Training sessions. Teachers are encouraged to give students time within the sessions to practice and to encourage students to practice at home. This element of enacting the rules and resources within the classroom through practice could be one more possible reason that the program has been reported to be effective.

Without trying to discredit the research done with Life Skills Training, it should be noted that almost all of that research has been done by those who developed the program and that all of their trials were conducted throughout the state of New York. There is a great deal of diversity throughout the state of New York, but it is clearly a very different population than those found in other parts of the country. The results may look a little different if people who were not invested in the program were conducting the research and if it was done throughout the country.

Olweus Bullying Prevention Program

When implemented with fidelity, teachers who use the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program reproduce structures that decrease violence. Instead of explicitly teaching the students how to do things that decrease violence, teachers and adults within

the schools are taught how to stop violent behaviors. Teachers and staff diminish opportunities and rewards for violence. In other words, the program relies on a changed social structure, or environment, to largely shape the decisions of agents.

Nearly every rule and resource is directed towards this goal of adults changing the school climate to decrease violence. Teachers facilitate weekly class meetings that teach the four anti-bullying rules, provide a space for students to talk about things happening within their classroom and schools, and develop class cohesion. The four anti-bullying rules are posted in every classroom and throughout the whole school, increasing the visibility of the program for both adults and students. All adults within the school receive training to teach them how to effectively intervene in bullying situations. The supervisory system is reviewed and refined yearly based on the results of the bullying questionnaire administered yearly in the hopes of reducing the opportunities for bullying behaviors. Staff discussion groups meet twice a month in the first year of implementation so that the adults charged with implementing the program (all the adults within the school) have a time and place to discuss what they are doing and observing and how they can improve. Over time, new norms develop that make it "cool to be a protector" of students who are bullied (p. 52). The entire culture is changed because different structures are produced and reproduced, essentially transforming the system.

This cultural change is dependent on adults in the school consistently and effectively intervening in bullying situations. This list of rules explains what adults should do when they learn of or observe violence.

1. Stop the bullying.
2. Support the student who is being bullied.
3. To the bullying student(s): Name the bullying behavior and refer to the four anti-bullying rules.

4. Empower the bystanders with appreciation if they were supportive to the student who was bullied or with information about how to act in the future.
5. Impose immediate and appropriate consequences for the student(s) who bullied.
6. Take steps to make sure the bullied student will be protected from future bullying. (Olweus et al., 2007a, p. 68)

A few questions emerge upon close examination of these rules. How should an adult stop the bullying? Should a teacher yell or just walk towards the students? What if the students are engaged in a physical fight or if there are weapons? How does a teacher stop the bullying when the bullying takes the form of rumors or social ostracism? This lack of detail neglects what most people understand intuitively: how you do it, or say it, matters. And even when all of the adults in the school are intervening in these situations following the same protocol, the interactions will be significantly different from person to person based on the communicative choices that individuals make. It should be noted, however, that some of these apparent gaps might be covered in the training sessions administered by an Olweus trainer that program developers have deemed necessary for successful implementation.

The program is detailed, though a bit incomplete in some areas, in addressing environmental change. But it is difficult to imagine a public school with a majority of the teachers, underpaid and with too many students in their classrooms, being committed enough to this program to ensure its faithful implementation. The program's success hinges on consistency, so students know that all adults at all times will stop any violence they hear about or witness. When this does not happen, students, especially those who are prone to act violently, will quickly learn which adults will not intervene. So while it seems that the structures offered by the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program would

definitely prevent violence when enacted, it seems less likely that many schools could actually sustain this kind of program.

Project Towards No Drug Abuse

Project Towards No Drug Abuse provides structures that could potentially decrease or limit substance abuse and violence largely the way that Life Skills training does: through knowledge structures. The program is a series of lesson plans that mostly focus on what substances are and their effects. Like Life Skills Training, it is feasible that this knowledge does help students make more educated decisions. But that knowledge alone does not create change is a widely accepted belief now among prevention program developers and scholars.

A particular structure that might actually be enacted and work effectively is the resource that provides phone numbers and websites for those who need help with a variety of different social problems. For example, a student who starts the program already wanting to quit smoking or drinking might become aware of organizations that are capable of helping. Another resource related to this is the Tobacco Cessation Manual that is included in every student manual. It details the process of quitting, what withdrawal symptoms to expect, and how to manage them. Both of the resources provide a structure for students who already have the motivation to change to effectively do so.

Given the right teacher, the program could also provide a place for students to discuss these important issues. That can be a valuable resource in a culture where many parents spend little time with their children. In certain classrooms, this discussion space could openly establish, or help students realize, that a majority of their classmates are not

abusing drugs. This newly realized norm has the potential to reverse the bandwagon approach, the perception that everyone is doing it, that many tobacco and alcohol advertisers use to sell their products.

Project Towards No Drug Abuse has reported much more modest results than the other programs in terms of preventing violence (and substance abuse). It also has the least emphasis on violence out of the three programs. Though it does address the effects of substance abuse in a more complete way than Life Skills Training, the models are essentially similar. They are lesson plans that include definitions, learning activities, group discussion questions, and worksheets. They do not allow room for largeness and the complexities of the problems they attempt to address. Instead, they have reduced skills and knowledge into sound bites and formulaic lists, and I would imagine that middle and high school students sense that if violence and drugs were so easy to take care of that the nightly news would look quite different.

Addressing Deindividuation

Being unknown to school personnel and peers seems to be common characteristic among those who perpetrate violence in school settings (Vecchi, 2009). Oftentimes, they are unknown because they have been alienated by classmates (Johnson & Johnson, 1995). This isolation could potentially create states of deindividuation. Deindividuation refers to situations where anti-normative behavior happens in groups where individuals are “not seen or paid attention to as individuals” (Festinger et al., 1952, p. 382).

An idea behind this study is that reducing deindividuation in schools could decrease violence in schools. Though they may not have intentionally been doing so, all three programs address deindividuation, effectively or ineffectively, in some way.

Life Skills Training

Life Skills Training includes two sessions on social skills with the main goal of teaching "students basic social skills in order to develop successful interpersonal relationships" (Botvin, 2010a, p. 15.1). It addresses overcoming shyness and gives students instruction and an opportunity to practice making social contacts and initiating, sustaining, and ending conversations. Though these sessions do not explicitly address the social climate of the school or encourage students to include those who may be on the periphery, it does provide a resource for students who may want to interact with others but lack the knowledge and skills and confidence to do so. This does, however, seem like a weak and rather ineffective way to decrease the isolation that many students experience within schools.

Olweus Bullying Prevention Program

The Olweus Bullying Prevention Program addresses deinidividuation more directly. Weekly class meetings are held with the intention of "[building] a sense of class cohesion and community" (Olweus et al., 2007b, p. 47). According to program creators, these weekly class meetings have several benefits. These benefits include "increasing problem-solving behavior and decreasing relationship issues, enhancing the sense of community and positive classroom climate, and providing a forum for students to discuss

incidents or issues that are important to them" (Olweus et al., 2007a, p. 14). Enhancing the sense of community and improving the overall classroom climate and sense of cohesion in particular seem to be resources that work towards decreasing individual cases of deindividuation.

The bullying rules also address deindividuation, because students are taught that indirect bullying includes isolating behaviors like intentional exclusion and rumor spreading. The four anti-bullying rules include: "1) we will not bully others, 2) we will try to help students who are bullied, 3) we will try to include students who are left out, and 4) if we know that somebody is being bullied, we will tell an adult at school and an adult at home" (Olweus et al., 2007a, p. 51). The third rule in particular really hones the focus of students, encouraging them to notice when others are alone or not included.

The program also addresses deindividuation through the school's supervisory system, a significant resource for schools working to decrease violence. Part of this system includes a clear line of communication among teachers and staff. Besides notifying the primary teacher when a student bullies or is bullied, those in a supervisory position are also asked to notify the primary teacher when they notice that a particular student is usually alone or socially isolated. In the lunchroom in particular, staff and teachers are instructed to "make sure that all students (especially isolated students) have someone to sit with" (Olweus et al., 2007a, p. 64). Teaching students how to include those who are left out is a key rule of the program and should happen within class meetings (2007a, p. 75).

On a more general level, the program highlights four core principles behind the program that every adult in the school should be aware of and embody. The first of these

four principles in particular addresses deindividuation. “Warmth, positive interest, and involvement are needed on the part of adults in the school” (Olweus et al., 2007a, p. 17). Authors further explain that “positive interest and involvement mean many things--taking time to know students, making a special effort to help them, with homework for example, showing appropriate interest in students’ personal lives, treating them with respect, and finding ways to praise them” (Olweus et al., 2007a, p. 17-18). Teachers in schools who truly work to make this happen create an environment where students at least feel known and acknowledged by the adults in the school. Besides getting to know the students personally, teachers are also encouraged to provide the students with opportunities to get to know each other (2007b, p. 63). This relationship between students and teachers is an important resource that creates structures that constrain deindividuation.

Project Towards No Drug Abuse

Project Towards No Drug Abuse, like Life Skills Training, addresses deindividuation mainly through one of the sessions. The eighth session is “designed to teach students how to recognize different social context and match their social skills to the context, and avoid acting in ways that might alienate others, which helps them to create social bonds and achieve their desired goals” (Sussman et al., 2009a, p. 168). Though this is the goal articulated at the beginning of the lesson plan, the session largely focuses on assertive communication skill building. These resources could empower students who have low social confidence, but the larger school climate in regards to inclusiveness remains unaddressed.

Kinds of Structures

One of the research questions suggests that I will label each rule and resource identified in this study as either a structure of signification, a structure of legitimation, or a structure of domination. This is not to say that each rule or resource is strictly one kind of structure. Each rule and resource contains elements of all three kinds of structures, but there is generally one kind that best represents the functioning of the rule or resource.

While analyzing the data, I have come to believe that these identifications are very difficult to make without actually seeing these rules and resources enacted. For example, the rule that everyone should have someone to sit by at lunch could be labeled as either a legitimation structure or a domination structure, depending on how it is enacted. It could become a norm, a legitimation structure, if students quickly accept the rule and it becomes part of what people both expect and experience in the cafeteria. It could, however, become a structure of domination if teachers or cafeteria workers regularly need to ask students to go sit by other students who are alone.

I also believe that many of these potential structures offered by these different prevention programs are unlikely to ever be enacted by students and teachers. If they remain in the manuals, they never move from potential rules and potential resources to actual rules and resources. So I believe that making these distinctions about types of structures is not particularly helpful if so few of these rules and resources will ever actually become a part of the structures within schools.

Without being in a school or conducting interviews, the labeling of these structures lacks meaning. I could go through the lists of rules and resources and label definitions as structures of signification, skills or rules as structures of legitimation, and

structures that rely heavily on adult power as structures of domination. But that does not seem to contribute much to understanding the programs and what can be done to make them more effective.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION: SUGGESTIONS FOR THE FUTURE

The final research question asks what other rules and resources might be beneficial in reproducing structures that discourage violence. It is a big question, one that has been asked for years and will be asked for years to come. But it is an important question to ask and answer, not just for society at large, but for me. Someday, I will have kids. At home, I will do everything I can to teach them about treating people well and being part of the solution. But at some point, I will watch them walk into the doors of some school somewhere in America. And I am going to want to know and feel that they are safe. I understand that there are no guarantees, and I understand now better than ever that no program solves all problems. While I recognize the work and time that has been poured into these programs and applaud the results they have achieved, it is not enough. I believe there is a way to do it better, and that communication scholars have a role to play in answering these big questions. Violence is a communication choice. Communication scholars have not yet addressed violence as such in the context of schools or considered how an understanding of communication could help lead to a stronger solution.

My interest in this problem perhaps began when I was a seventh grader in a locked down middle school in Highlands Ranch, Colorado on April 20, 1999. Just 15 minutes away, Eric Klebold and Dylan Harris were on a shooting rampage at Columbine

High School. I wondered what moved students who were just a few years older than I was at the time to act so violently. I wondered if anything could have been done to stop it. My interest was piqued again last spring as I read about the culture of violence in New York inner city high schools. Because my interest in this problem has developed around the dynamics of high schools, that is the site where I choose to focus my suggestions.

Few prevention programs developed to function within high schools have been proven to be effective on any level. (Project Towards No Drug Abuse is one of the few exceptions.) Many say that the time for real prevention has passed by the time these students enter high school, which is why many more focus their efforts within elementary and middle schools (Simon et al., 2008). After studying the programs, I believe another reason might be that the curricula they have developed are so rudimentary that an older population would refuse to accept them. High school students are likely less forgiving of materials that seem overly simplified and inapplicable.

Olweus Bullying Prevention Program has been developed for both elementary and middle schools, but the lead program developer has explained that the structure of high schools in America does not lend itself to the program he originally developed (Olweus et al., 2007a). In most high schools in the country, students have several courses and several teachers. They do not stay with the same group of students throughout the day. This makes it difficult for teachers to identify the more common forms of violence like name-calling, intimidation, or social ostracism. Due to the typical high school structure, classrooms and teachers are isolated from the rest of the school, and there is often no communication system for teachers to check in with each other to determine if one particular student is being picked on by the same people throughout the day. The

structure also limits the student/teacher relationship that is a natural result of the structures of most elementary and middle schools that keep the same groups of students with the same teachers.

Out of the three programs, the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program resonates most with me. I appreciate the focus on changing school culture, but I recognize that the degree of commitment it requires from the adults within the schools is difficult to find and generate in the current state of public schools, specifically in Utah. According to the National Education Association, in 2011 Utah's population increased by 2.1%, more than any other state in the nation. Public school enrollment increased by 2.3% in Utah, which was also the greatest increase in the nation. This spills over into the average number of students per teacher.[1] The average student-teacher ratio for the nation is 15.4, but Utah's ratio is 21.9, the second highest ratio in the country. The U.S. average per student expenditure for public elementary and secondary schools was $10,770 for the 2010-2011 enrollment. Utah spent much less, paying $6,672 per student. Only Arizona spent less per student (NEA 2011-2012). In 2010, salaries for teachers in Utah actually decreased (NEA 2010-2011).

The statistics are bleak and reveal that public schools, particularly within this state, are operating in a system of scarce resources. Based on the findings of this study and this background information, I make the following recommendations: the removal of zero tolerance policies, an emphasis on administrative and teacher commitment, different

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[1] This should not be confused with "Average Class Size." "Class size and student-teacher ratio are very different concepts and cannot be used interchangeably" (NEA 2011-2012, p. ix). Recent studies show that the difference between student-teacher ratio and the average class size is nine or ten students in grades K-3. So if the student-teacher ratio in Utah is 21.9, the average class size for K-3 classrooms would be around 30 students. I would imagine that the difference would be even greater in higher grades.

parent involvement efforts based on the communities, intervention training, class meetings within a cohort system, and an overall raised awareness. Structuration theory informs these recommendations, because they are based on the foundational finding of this analysis: programs, or at least these three programs, largely focus on either the agent (micro-influences) or the environment (macro-influences). This goes back to basic debates on nature vs. nurture, and is representative of several approaches to most social issues that either blame the individual or the environment (Farrall & Bowling, 1999). Structuration theory teaches, however, that these two forces or levels are interdependent. Therefore, if we work to address both the agent and the environment, recognizing that both have power in influencing decisions, we may have more success in our prevention efforts. That none of the three programs attempted to address both the agent and the environment within the programs' materials is the main motivation to do so here.

These recommendations are also motivated by structuration theory's emphasis on identifying and understanding the rules and resources available and enacted within systems. The call for public schools to solve society's problems grows increasingly louder, and the discourse around what schools and teachers are able to do reveals the perspective of a scarcity of resources. In other words, this call for schools to do more is often answered with explanations of not having the money, the teachers, the parent support, or the time to do so. These recommendations recognize that each school starts from a different place in terms of available resources, and that violence prevention plans or strategies that include a variety of options may be more appropriate and effective than violence prevention programs.

Structuration theory explains that structures are created as they are enacted, so every structure and system is unique. A set of these structures and systems may all be labeled "public schools," but the people and environments producing those structures and systems are different. These suggestions acknowledge the differences between and among schools and offers flexibility and patience for the process in the development of violence prevention structures.

Removal of Zero Tolerance Policies

A zero tolerance policy can best be explained as a rule that requires "predetermined, non-negotiable punishments for specific acts of behavior" (Dianis-Browne, 2011). If a behavior is labeled as one that fits the zero tolerance policy, there is no measuring of the seriousness of the act or of its context, and students can be suspended, expelled, or legally charged automatically. For example, the same punishment is administered to a "wide range of behaviors, from a student actually bringing a weapon to school to simply bringing a picture of a weapon to school or writing a violent story" (Melvin, 2011). That each of these acts is significantly different is not acknowledged in zero tolerance policies. Essentially, these rules remove any possibility of dialogue between parents, students, teachers, and administrators, a resource that is largely overlooked in prevention programs and schools in general.

These zero tolerance policies emerged as a response to the "war on drugs" of the 1980s (Melvin, 2011). The Columbine school shootings in 1999 seemed to refuel the zero tolerance movement, and districts across the country began adopting zero tolerance policies (Fowler, 2011). As mentioned earlier, Olweus does not support zero tolerance

policies because they remove students from the very communities in which they need to learn to interact (Olweus et al., 2007a). Fowler has taken this issue a step further, providing evidence that this disciplinary structure does not stop or prevent future violence. In fact, it seems to perpetuate it. "The single greatest predictor of future involvement in the juvenile system is a history of disciplinary referrals at school" (Fowler, 2001). In other words, these policies are feeding the prison pipeline.

Zero tolerance policies are a short-term solution to a long-term problem. They provide the illusion of safety without delivering it, and put in motion a structure with dangerous consequences. Students who are expelled or suspended are more likely to drop out of school and more likely to engage in violence and substance abuse. There are also serious effects for students who might have done something like participate in a food fight and end up being charged with reckless conduct. These students, undeservingly, struggle when applying for colleges, jobs, or the military because of their criminal record (Brown-Dianis, 2011). For these reasons, I think a first step is to revise discipline codes by eliminating zero tolerance policies and adopting policies that apply more graduated consequences that can be negotiated based on the student's history, the act itself, and the context of the situation.

Emphasis on Administrative and Teacher Commitment

As a junior in high school I was asked by a district-wide Student Advisory Group I was a part of to set an appointment with my principal and discuss with him the issue of bullying and its presence at our school. He understood I was there on assignment from the group but did not know exactly what I was there to discuss with him. As soon as I

started talking about bullying, he cut me off and told me that bullying did not happen at ThunderRidge High School. He quickly ended our appointment, and I walked out wondering how it was that we both spent most of our time in the same hallways and classrooms and yet had such different perceptions of student life at ThunderRidge.

As I read through the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program materials I repeatedly saw an emphasis on having or building administrative and teacher/staff commitment. In fact, the first two criteria that determine whether or not a school is ready to implement the program focus on the presence of this commitment. Without it, program developers strongly recommend that schools do not implement the program (Olweus et al., 2007a, p. 15). This is a fundamental rule of the program.

Life Skills Training and Project Towards No Drug Abuse do not require an educated (in terms of program issues) and committed staff for the programs to be implemented. These programs are lesson plans, and do not demand anything of the teachers who teach the programs outside of the basic curriculum, nor do they demand anything of anyone else in the school. Because I believe that some kind of cultural shift needs to take place for violence to be prevented, I see this step of educating the adults and developing their commitment as pivotal for any program's ultimate success. Like the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program, I view these prevention efforts as a long-term process where rules and resources are developed, not immediately applied, in order to transform the structures in any given school. This process should begin with teachers and staff and administration learning about the issues in general and seeking to understand how they are happening within their own school.

The process perspective allows for time and does not demand results instantaneously, and I believe the training process for adults within schools should model an understanding of process. While the initial training might be one or two days to teach and discuss issues around violence, training should happen regularly over the course of the year. For example, teachers and staff could meet once a month for 1 or 2 hour workshops that focus on different elements, causes, and effects of violence. These workshops can also provide a space for teachers to talk about how they are using their homeroom meetings to build relationships with and among students and prevent violence. In these workshops, adults should also be updated on how and where violence is happening within their own school.

I suggest that this information be discovered by a school climate questionnaire (a broader version of the Bullying Questionnaire), and that it be administered each year. It would be broader than the Olweus Bullying Questionnaire in the sense that it would address violence, not just bullying. This questionnaire should remind students of the definition and spectrum of violence and ask questions to solicit information about where, when, how often, and what kind of violence students are seeing and experiencing. It should also include general questions about how students feel about their experience in the high school and how responsive they feel adults are when they observe or become aware of violence. This information becomes an important resource for schools to increase teacher and staff commitment to the cause and to inform administrators about violence hot spots.

Allowing for Different Degrees of Parent Involvement

A large majority of researchers advocate multiple-approach programs, or programs that reach beyond the walls of the school to involve parents and communities (Affonso et al., 2010; Dusenbury et al., 1997; Webster, 1993). Research, however, has found that single-approach programs are more effective than multiple-approach programs (Park-Higgerson et al., 2008; Simon et al., 2009). It has already been discussed that, though counter-intuitive, this may be a result of bringing in more of the same influences that established those behavioral tendencies initially.

Many of these multiple-approach programs focus on including parents in meetings, interventions, and homework based on the prevention program. If parents refuse to come to meetings, do not support the teachers in intervention situations, or diminish the importance of the issues brought up by homework, children get the message that violence or bullying or substance abuse prevention does not matter. They could easily come to believe, based on their parents' behaviors, that the program is insignificant. For these reasons, I suggest that schools carefully evaluate their communities and the level of parent involvement and support they currently experience before implementing a program or plan of action that assumes parent participation.

This is not a suggestion that precludes all schools from including parents in their programs. There are clearly communities where parent participation is high enough to sustain a program that incorporates parents. This suggestion simply recognizes that schools and communities vary in the degrees of outside support that they receive. They have different resources available. Rather than see the absence of this participation as a problem or a shortage, I choose to see it as a difference that can be accommodated.

Rather than frustrate school personnel with empty parent meetings, I believe it empowers these schools allow them to decide what kind of involvement their communities can sustain.

Whether or not schools decide to involve parents actively, I do suggest that all schools at least make information available to parents about what they are doing to prevent violence and why. Because high school students generally do not have take-home folders that they review with their parents, this could be done by posting the information on the school's website, emailing the information to parents, and having the pamphlets or letters available at all school events that parents might attend (orientation, parent-teacher conferences, sporting and arts events, etc).

Intervention Training

Olweus has identified two main reasons why adults do not intervene in bullying situations: 1) they do not see bullying as an important issue and/or 2) they are not sure of what to do to intervene. As discussed earlier, bullying is violence, so these two reasons likely remain constant as reasons why adults do not intervene in violent situations. Helping adults see violence as an important and relevant issue in schools will be addressed by the workshops suggested earlier in the chapter. To deal with the second reason, I recommend that all adults within the school be trained in how to intervene. The Olweus Bullying Prevention Program lists six steps that should be followed in any intervention.

1. Stop the bullying
2. Support the student who is being bullied.
3. To the bullying student(s): Name the bullying behavior and refer to the four anti-bullying rules.

4. Empower the bystanders with appreciation if they were supportive to the student who was bullied or with information about how to act in the future.
5. Impose immediate and appropriate consequences for the student(s) who bullied.
6. Take steps to make sure the bullied student will be protected from future bullying. (Olweus et al., 2007a, p. 68)

There are strong points about this intervention. It addresses everyone present (the student who was treated violently, the student who instigated the violence, and the bystanders who saw what was happening), and treats the intervention as a process rather than an event. But to each step, a person could ask, "How?" How do you stop bullying? How do you support the student who was bullied? How do you make sure the student will be protected from future bullying? These are questions that need to be answered, both in a training session with examples and in written form so adults can reference the materials later.

Answering these questions is a space in particular where communication scholars could aid in the development of intervention protocol. Though developers of the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program have explained that conflict resolution techniques are not the answer, I believe these skills would be enormously helpful resources for both adults and students in high schools. I would also recommend a dialogue approach to intervention, especially in high schools. If the end goal is to help students be successful citizens in their communities, workplaces, and homes, they need to learn to talk about differences and disagreements in pro-social ways. This should be modeled in how teachers communicate with students. Overall, teachers need more specific rules to empower them to effectively intervene in situations where students are acting violently.

This training becomes particularly important as students approach teachers, seeking help because of violence. Research has shown that perhaps the most important

factor in student willingness to talk to an adult is "the perceived likelihood that the individual can actually provide help" (Yablon, 2010, p. 1112). If students see teachers as unable to intervene, they are far less likely to report problems and get help, which only perpetuates the violence in that particular situation and in the larger school culture.

Class Meetings Within a Cohort System

In the literature review, I briefly mentioned a cohort system as a possible preventative measure. After reviewing these three programs' materials, I still believe it is a smart, if partial, solution. Based on the statistics about Utah's public education system, someone could easily say that there is too little money and too many students. Teachers are being paid less to deal with bigger problems and tighter classrooms. In this position, it is understandable if and when teachers are overwhelmed and frustrated when a new program, promising big results, is presented for implementation. The cohort system makes no demands in terms of money or teacher training.

Olweus has not yet developed a program for high schools because of how they are structured in this country. Students have eight or so periods a day, each with a different teacher and a different set of classmates. If they are on the block schedule, they have eight periods that are stretched out over two days, but it is essentially the same predicament. There is no one teacher to whom any given student reports.

The cohort system I am recommending is not one that keeps the same group of students with the same teachers throughout all of their coursework. The logistics of doing that and taking into account AP and honors courses and electives would be incredibly complicated and even divisive in a student body. Instead, I recommend a cohort system

based out of homerooms. Each student, from the first day of orientation, is assigned a teacher that will be his or her homeroom teacher for the three or four years the student attends the high school. Essentially, they will have the same teacher and classmates from the first day of high school until graduation. In homeroom, these groups of students will have study hour, meet together for school-wide activities (like assemblies), and have class meetings.

The study hour facilitates academic success, providing time for students to focus on schoolwork, meet with teachers, and possibly work with tutors. Academic success has been correlated with decreased violence (Maguin & Loeber, 1996; Olweus et al., 2007; Webster, 1993). In fact, one violence prevention measure done within New York inner-city high schools was strictly a tutoring program (Devine, 1996). Though the directionality of this relationship has not been established, incorporating resources that also increase opportunities for academic success is a rational violence prevention possibility that could reap benefits outside of the explicit goal of diminishing violence, like higher graduation rates and better test scores.

The homeroom hour also provides a space for class meetings similar to those advocated by the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program. I suggest that teachers are given the flexibility to plan and teach what they see as relevant and meaningful for their own classes, but that they are also offered resources, not in the form of lesson plans, but in the form of ideas and suggestions. I see these class meetings as an opening for dialogue. For example, within the last month, several interesting and short articles have been published about violence within schools that could be reviewed in these meetings to spark discussion. If I were to hold a class meeting in the near future, I would invite the class to

talk about the school district that owes 4.2 million dollars to a boy who was bullied and is now paralyzed (Leitsinger, 2012), or the six year old who was charged with battery and handcuffed for kicking his principal because of a zero tolerance policy (Weiss, 2012), or the father who sent his autistic son to school wired so he could record and hear how teachers were treating his son (Mulvihill, 2012). All of these are current and provocative examples that have the potential to stimulate critical thinking while providing a springboard for educators to talk about issues related to violence in schools. These class meetings could be used to address a variety of topics that affect school climate, including, but not limited to, substance abuse, prejudice, school policies, and cyberbullying. Throughout class meetings, students receive information and develop knowledge about these topics. Information is factual; it includes statistics and data. The immediate biological effects of smoking or the different forms of bullying would both be information. Knowledge is experiential and embodied. The development of knowledge in class meetings happens as students process their lived experience or as they are taught by their environment. For example, knowledge would be developed as students talked about how they or their friends had experienced cyberbullying and then brainstormed ideas about how to deal with it. An example of environmental knowledge would be a student learning that violence is not tolerated in his or her school by seeing several adults respond consistently and appropriately in violent situations. Through class meetings, the agent is addressed and empowered to make educated decisions.

The cohort system also facilitates relationships, which limits deindividuation. Being unknown to school personnel and peers seems to be common among those who perpetrate violence in school settings (Vecchi, 2009). They are often unknown because

they have been alienated by classmates (Johnson & Johnson, 1995). The cohort system works to prevent this from happening, because every student in the school would have one teacher who knows the student throughout his or her high school experience. This consistency provides a home base of sorts for students and also generates a perspective that is often lost in the fractured high school structure of periods and semesters. The hope is that a homeroom teacher would be able to get to know students and notice changes in students that generally go unnoticed as students regularly switch courses and teachers each semester.

Ideally, the cohort system provides students with the resource of relationships, with both students and a teacher, that help them feel connected to the school. In this way, the agent is not left alone. Students make decisions at school in an environment that facilitates pro-social choices. The class meetings provide knowledge that helps agents make positive communicative decisions, and the environment supports, or enables, those decisions also. Essentially, the key to my suggestions is that they do not put responsibility exclusively on either the agent or the environment.

Eleanor Roosevelt High School in Corona, CA has established a homeroom cohort system to remove anonymity (deindividuation) and teach issues that matter like "goal setting, organization, the Cornell note-taking system, drug awareness, suicide awareness, human rights, bullying, financial planning, and much more" (Vitale, 2008, p. 25). The main motivation of the homeroom cohort system at this high school is to provide opportunities for students to build meaningful relationships with other students and with a teacher. These classes of students stay together from the first day or orientation until the homeroom teacher calls the name of each student at graduation. They stress that "this

class is not a program; it is a philosophy and a way to structure high school differently" (Vitale, 2008, p. 24). Other than this example, there is very little research on cohort systems organized in this way or on the relationship benefits of cohort systems.

Overall Raised Awareness

Students and adults within schools need to know what constitutes violence. They need to know that it is not just about weapons or fists. They need to understand that words can be violent, whether they are spoken to someone or about someone. Students need to know that they can approach adults within the school when they see or experience violence, and adults need to know what to do with that information. While much of this information should be a part of class meetings in homerooms, the message needs to be communicated on a school-wide level as well. This can happen through assemblies, the school newspaper, student orientation, standard registration meetings with school counselors, and written school policies. Student feedback groups could be organized to talk to administrators about how they understand the violence prevention measures that are being taken and what school personnel could do better. Already existing student groups, such as student councils, could also be asked to contribute.

The point is that there is no one way to do this. Schools and communities are different, and programs need to make room for those different strengths and resources. Schools should have the flexibility to decide how they want to make violence prevention a visible issue, but they should be provided a variety of options in terms of how they can do so. This holds true for all of the suggestions I have made. If funding is particularly tight, schools could start with removing zero tolerance policies and implementing a

homeroom system in their schedules and gradually add elements as funding becomes available. What is important is to recognize this as a process and to give schools the flexibility to do what makes sense with their resources, in their spaces, and with their teachers.

Limitations

This study strictly examined the program materials of three violence prevention programs. The insights discovered in the process are important, but incomplete without seeing how these programs function in actual schools. More qualitative research needs to be done to more fully understand the rules and resources these programs offer and whether or not they become standard structures in the schools in which they are implemented. There are also several other programs that are implemented within schools, and programs that are designed for communities or neighborhoods and families. This is a small section of violence prevention programs, and there is much room for further research to contribute to our understanding of where money can best be spent to provide the greatest results.

Due to its scope, this study has not addressed the relationship between violence and class or socioeconomic status. This would be a particularly interesting avenue for scholars to explore, asking questions about whether or not different communities need different programs and why.

Conclusion

The outlook for schools in terms of violence is not particularly bright. Many schools ignore the issue. Several recognize the issue but do not know what to do, and some implement programs that simply need to be better. Students need more than what we are giving them. They need knowledge and skills on a personal level to help them communicate in nonviolent ways and they need environments that enable those same choices.

This is a problem that is not going away, not without someone doing something. We keep doing what we have done in the past. We write lesson plans, install metal detectors, and hire school police officers because it is what we know. But that is just not good enough. In my opinion, the amount of violence in schools will continue to rise. Deindividuation, or this state of being unknown and unrecognized that offers people the safety of anonymity, is on the rise in a youth culture that lives much of their social lives on cell phones and social networking cites. We have just seen the beginning of this new brand of bullying that has the power to ruin reputations and destroy relationships with the touch of a button, often without leaving any trace. This increasing lack of accountability only complicates violence intervention.

As parents, educators, scholars, and communities, it is time to relentlessly pursue solutions. It is time to contact legislators, talk to principals, ask hard questions, and have hope in finding answers. In the words of Jesse Jackson, it is time to stop building "first class jails [and] second-rate schools" (Browne-Dianis, 2011). We will be better able to meet the demands of violence prevention by understanding that we can work with both individuals and environments. Doing so will improve the likelihood of creating safe

schools and encouraging the development of citizens who communicate effectively and without violence.

APPENDIX A

LIFE SKILLS TRAINING

Table 1, Life Skills Training Rules

DESCRIPTION	CITED
1. Ground Rules (suggestions) 1. Have students sit in a circle. 2. Everyone should be given an opportunity to participate. 3. Only on person talks at a time (although it may be better to allow students to speak up whenever they have something to contribute, its is sometimes necessary to have students in large classes raise their hands in order to avoid having students talking over one another). 4. Everyone is free to express their opinions or participate in class activities without being subjected to criticism. 5. No one should be forced to participate if he/she really does not want to, although everyone should be encouraged to do so.	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 2.6
2. How to set goals 1. Pick a goal that is realistic. Set a goal for yourself which is possible for you to accomplish within a reasonable amount of time (for example, by the end of the school semester). 2. Pick a goal that is manageable, that you can break down into a series of small steps (or sub-goals). The best way to change a behavior is to do it in small steps. 3. Pick a goal which is measurable (for example, how far you jog) so you can tell whether you have achieved it or how much further you have to improve before you do. 4. Pick something that is meaningful to you, something that you really want to do rather than something you feel you should do.	Student Guide 1, p. 14
3. How to achieve your goals 1. Have a positive attitude. Believe in yourself and your ability to reach the goal that you set for yourself.	Student Guide 1, p. 14

Table 1 cont.

2. Don't be afraid to make mistakes. It's all part f learning and making progress toward your goal. 3. If you don't reach a particular goal or sub-goal, don't think of it as a failure. Think of it as a learning experience, as a step toward achieving your goal. Identify what went wrong and correct it. 4. Praise yourself for any progress that you make toward achieving your goal. Tell your friends or parents, and reward yourself. 5. Identify any areas that need further improvement and work on them with confidence and determination. 6. Use your imagination. Spend some time each day "seeing" yourself achieving your goal.	
4. How to make decisions (3 Cs) 1. Clarify the decision to be made (what is the decision that you need to make). 2. Consider the possible alternatives (think about the different things you might decide to do) and the consequences of choosing each alternative; collect any additional information needed. (If you are trying to solve a problem, think up as many solutions as possible.) 3. Choose the best alternative and take the necessary action. Be sure to follow through on your decision.	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 5.4
5. How to resist the influence of the media 1. Watch and listen less. Choose other activities. 2. Choose shows and music with positive messages. 3. Look for action shows that show the consequences of violence, or that focus on people and issues. 4. Be aware that media images don't always reflect reality.	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 11.6
6. How to do a reality check on television (list of questions to ask yourself)	Student Guide 1, p. 55
7. How to decrease anxiety (how-to associated with each one) 1. Relaxation exercise 2. Mental rehearsal 3. Deep breathing	Student Guide 1, p. 57
8. "Expressing anger can be healthy but losing control is not."	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 13.3
9. How to deal with anger (Techniques for staying in control) 1. The Warning Light (Picture a light inside your head. Imagine that it flashes a warning when you need to stop and think before	Student Guide 1, p. 61

Table 1 cont.

speaking or acting. Remember to check your light whenever you are in a situation that is making you angry.) 2. Counting to Ten or Higher (Take a deep breath and start counting slowly to yourself. Keep listening to the other person as you count. Don't provoke him or her by revealing what you are doing. Look the other person in the eye.) 3. Self-Statements (Sometimes just telling yourself not to get angry can help you keep calm. Examples: I don't have to let this get to me. I don't need to fight about this. I can handle this. I can stay clam. I enjoy feeling calm and in control.) 4. Reframe (Get a picture of the situation that's making you angry. Then put a different frame on it. Ask yourself questions like these: Is this worth getting angry about? Am I sure this person is really out to hurt or insult me? Is there another way to get what I want?)	
10. Rules for communication that avoids misunderstandings 1. Send the same message on verbal and nonverbal channels. 2. Be specific. 3. Ask questions. 4. Paraphrase.	Student Guide 1, p. 67
11. How to overcome shyness 1. Learn to act: You can learn new social skills and become more self-confident by handling difficult social situations as if you were a performer playing a role. For many shy people it is easier to pretend they are someone else playing a part than it is to be themselves. Thus, thinking of yourself as an actor playing a part is a good first step in acquiring new social skills and becoming more confident. 2. Start small and strive for gradual improvement: Begin by practicing on easy situations, gradually working up to more difficult ones. 3. Develop scripts: Write out a brief script of what you want to say, how you want to say it, and what you want to do in each situation you are trying to master. 4. Practice: Rehearse at home. Practice the skills you are learning and how to handle specific situations using the scripts you developed. Watch yourself in the mirror and listen to your voice. If you can, practice with someone playing the part of the other person. 5. Be persistent: Keep at it. If you stick to it and continue to work on improving, you are bound to succeed.	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 15.3

Table 1 cont.

12. How to give a compliment 1. Pick something to compliment (what the other person is wearing, how they look, a skill or ability, a personal quality or characteristic). 2. Look at the person you are complimenting. 3. Say the compliment in a sincere voice. (You should sound like you mean what you say.)	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 15.6
13. How to receive a compliment 1. Thank the person who gave you the compliment. 2. If warranted, give the person who complimented you a compliment back.	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 15.6
14. Rules for starting a conversation 1. Pick someone who looks like they would b easy to talk to (a person who seems friendly, is smiling at you, sitting alone or just walking around). 2. Introduce yourself. "Hello, my name is…." Tell each other where you live, go to school, what activities you like. 3. Give a compliment and then ask a question. "You were great in the school play. Do you take acting lessons?" 4. Ask for or offer help (e.g. help with a package, lending books or pencils, directions, etc.). 5. If you are at a total loss you can use such common but very good starters concerning the weather ("The weather has been really great lately") or personal identity ("Are you from around here?" or "Where do you go to school?")	Student Guide 1, p. 73
15. Rules for keeping a conversation going 1. Tell a story about yourself. 2. Get the other person talking about him or herself. 3. Ask questions. 4. Let the other person know you are interested in what they are saying. 5. Be happy and "up." 6. Be an active listener. Show that you are listening by using verbal cues and nonverbal cues.	Student Guide 1, p. 74
16. Rules for ending a conversation (How you end a conversation can make your next meeting with that person either easier or harder.) 1. The ending should be as smooth and natural as possible. 2. Don't cut the other person off in the middle of a sentence. Try to find a natural place to stop.	Student Guide 1, p. 74

Table 1 cont.

3. Nonverbal cues can be used to indicate that you want to end the conversation such as breaking eye contact, moving toward the exit, smiling, shaking hands, etc. 4. Be sure the person knows you are about to leave or end the conversation, you've enjoyed the conversation (or being with the other person), and you hope that you will meet (or see each other) again soon.	
17. Rules for asking someone out 1. Have something definite in mind. 2. Have an alternative ready to allow the other person some freedom of choice. 3. Get to the point after some brief "warm-up" remarks-don't beat around the bush. 4. Don't sound negative as if the other person will be doing you a favor or you expect him/her to say no.	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 16.4
18. Rules for being asked out If you can go: 1. Say yes. Be clear. 2. Be enthusiastic. If you cannot go but would like to: 1. Say that you would like to go, but can't. 2. Make it clear that you want to go. 3. Suggest another time or activity. If you do not want to go: 1. Be honest. 2. Make it clear. Don't lead the other person on.	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 16.6
19. How to say "no" 1. State your position. Tell the other person how you feel about something or give your answer to a request that you do something (e.g., "No, you can't borrow my book."). 2. State your reason. Tell the other person the reason for your position, request, or feelings (e.g., "I'll need to use it myself," or "I already promised that someone else could use it."). 3. Be understanding. Let the other person know that you understood his side, request, or feelings (e.g., "I know you really need to use it, and I wish there was something I could do to help.").	Student Guide 1, p. 79

Table 1 cont.

20. Rules of making requests and asserting rights 1. State the problem or situation to be changed. Tell the other person what the situation is that needs to be changed. 2. Tell how you might change the situation or solve the problem. Tell the other person what you would like them to do or what you think (asserting rights), or ask for a favor.	Student Guide 1, p. 79
21. Rules of nonverbal assertive skills 1. Loudness of voice: Don't whisper or mumble. Speak with a strong, confident tone of voice. 2. Eye Contact: Don't look away from the person you are talking to or down at the floor; look directly into his or her eyes. 3. Facial Expression: Be certain that your facial expressions are saying what you are saying (for example, don't smile while you are telling someone you're angry). 4. Distance: Keep the right distance from the person you are talking with (for example, stand further away if you're telling someone that you've got to go, or stand closer if you're feeling warm or affectionate).	Student Guide 1, p. 79
22. Practicing now helps us do it later	Whole book
23. Rules for solving the problem (Questions to ask to solve the problem) 1. What is the problem? 2. What are my choices? 3. What are the consequences? 4. What do I do?	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 18.4
24. Rules for "Changing You and Me to We" 1. Stay cool. (Take a deep breath. Count to ten. Tell yourself, I'm too cool to get angry.) 2. Cool off your opponent. (Say, "This isn't worth fighting over. If someone insults you, ask, "Why would you want to say that?" Use your sense of humor to help your opponent lighten up. 3. Listen to the other person. (Eye contact. Restate what is said, then ask if that's right. Don't get too close. Keep your tone of voice even.) 4. Stand up for yourself. (Use "I" statements to tell them how you think and feel. Give a reason for why you feel as you do. Stand tall. Speak with confidence.) 5. Show respect. (Don't say what's wrong with the other person. Agree where you can. If you've done something wrong,	Student Guide 1, p. 85

Table 1 cont.

apologize.) 6. Solve the problem. (Suggest a compromise. Ask the other person to suggest a compromise. Consider other possible solutions. Ask problem solving questions. Consider the possible consequences of each.)	
25. 12 units (15 lessons) should be taught in sequence	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 2.1
26. The 3 additional units focused on violence prevention are optional (making it 18 lessons)	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 2.1
27. Can be taught once a week or as a mini-course (one study suggests that the intensive mini-course is slightly more effective)	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 2.2
28. Use booster sessions (15 the first year-the main curriculum; 10 the second year, 5 the third year)	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 2.1
29. Regular teachers can teach the course, so can health professionals or peer leaders	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 1.4
30. The actual program materials do not have any strong emphasis on training for teachers	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 2.2
31. Emphasis that students get all (or most) of the lessons for the program to be effective	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 3.18
32. For junior high or middle schools	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 2.1
33. Prevention has more potential than reform	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 3.1

Table 2, Life Skills Training Resources

DESCRIPTION	CITED
1. Self-image	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 4.3
2. Beliefs	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 4.11
3. Attitude	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 4.11
4. Decision	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 5.12
5. Influence	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 5.12
6. Pressure	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 5.12
7. Persuasive tactics	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 5.12
8. Smoking prevalence	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 6.3
9. Cost of smoking	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 6.5
10. Long range effects of smoking	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 6.6
11. Process of becoming a smoker	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 6.7
12. Non-smokers' rights	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 6.8
13. Reasons people smoke	Teacher's Manual 1, p.
14. Minority	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 6.14
15. Estimates	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 6.14
16. Risk factor	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 6.14
17. Addiction	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 6.14
18. Socially acceptable	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 6.14
19. Sidestream smoke	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 6.14
20. Immediate effects of smoking	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 7.3
21. Biofeedback	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 7.14
22. Carbon monoxide	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 7.14

Table 2 cont.

23. Nicotine	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 7.14
24. Anxiety	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 7.14
25, Effects of alcohol	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 8.3
26. Drinking prevalence	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 8.4
27. Patterns of drinking	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 8.5
28. Social acceptance of drinking	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 8.8
29. Reasons people drink	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 8.7
30. Abstinence	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 8.15
31. Tolerance	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 8.15
32. Marijuana	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 9.3
33. Prevalence of marijuana use	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 9.3
34. Reasons people use marijuana	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 9.5
35. Immediate effects of marijuana	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 9.6
36. Long-term effects of marijuana	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 9.7
37. Legal issues around marijuana	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 9.8
38. Psychoactive	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 9.11
39. THC	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 9.11
40. Euphoria	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 9.11
41. Illicit	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 9.11
42. Decriminalization	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 9.11
43. Legalization	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 9.11
44. Advertising techniques	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 10.3-10.5
45. Consumer	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 10.10

Table 2 cont.

46. Prevalence of violence	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 11.2
47. Role models	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 11.3
48. Physical effects of nervousness	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 12.3
49. Anger	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 13.3
50. Physical effects of anger	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 13.3
51. Reasons for controlling anger	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 13.4
52. Self-statement	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 13.9
53. Reframing	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 13.9
54. Communication	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 14.3
55. Types of communication	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 14.3-14.4
56. Value of asking questions	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 14.7
57. Compliment	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 15.10
58. Attraction	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 16.2
59. Understanding assertiveness	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 17.3
60. Benefits of being assertive	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 17.4
61. Aggressive	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 17.16
62. Compromise	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 18.7
63. Negotiation	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 18.7
64. Knowledge of most important factors leading to adolescent substance use	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 3.4-3.5
65. Documented claims of effectiveness for over 20 years	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 1.4-1.7
66. Works no matter who is teaching it (health professionals, teachers, peer leaders)-large resource of people who can implement	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 1.4
67. Teacher's Guide	
68. Student Guide	
69. Background information for teachers (whole chapter in the teacher guide binder)	Teacher's Manual 1, Chapter 3

Table 2 cont.

70. Common etiology approach	Teacher's Manual 1, p. 3.5
71. Self-Improvement Project (time, encouragement, the space to do something that matters to them for school, that experience-hopefully that success-becomes a future resource)	Student Guide 1, p. 8
72. Time and worksheets geared towards self-reflexivity: -how I see myself (with friends, at school, at home, in general) -myself as I would like to be (with friends, at home, at school, in general) -strengths -weaknesses -things to change	Student Guide 1, p. 12-13
73. Through discussion, opportunities to realize they can learn important things from their own experiences, that their experiences are valuable and meaningful-authentic learning tools	
74. Awareness: -how they think about themselves -the decisions they make everyday -influence of others	
75. Different frame or goal: success (not drug prevention or violence prevention-happy and healthy and successful lives)	Student Guide 1, p. 6-7
76. Changed perceptions by bandwagon reversal technique	
77. Teaching methods: lecture, discussion, worksheets, demonstration, reading, writing their own commitments	

Table 3, Life Skills Training Sessions

Unit	Title
1	Self-Image and Self-Improvement
2	Making Decisions
3	Smoking: Myths and Realities
4	Smoking and Biofeedback
5	Alcohol: Myths and Realities
6	Marijuana: Myths and Realities
7	Advertising
8	Violence and the Media (optional)
9	Coping with Anxiety
10	Coping with Anger (optional)
11	Communication Skills
12	Social Skills A
13	Social Skills B
14	Assertiveness
15	Resolving Conflicts (optional

APPENDIX B

OLWEUS BULLYING PREVENTION PROGRAM

Table 4, Olweus Bullying Prevention Program Rules

DESCRIPTION	CITED
1. Needs to be implemented across all grades in a school for it to really be successful (system-wide change)	Schoolwide Guide, p. xii
2. Avoid labels of bully and victim when talking with students	Schoolwide Guide, p. xii
3. Designed for students ages 5-15 (elementary and middle/junior high schools	Schoolwide Guide, p. 2
4. Questionnaire should be administered before the program begins and at regular intervals each year (in the same month)	Schoolwide Guide, p. 3
5. Use information from the questionnaire to tailor the program to your school's specific needs (ex: changing your supervisory system to cover hot spots for bullying)	Schoolwide Guide, p. 33-34
6. Include all faculty and staff (teachers, secretaries, cafeteria workers, bus drivers, crosswalk people, custodians, etc)	Schoolwide Guide, p. 39
7. "Designed to be integrated into your school's daily routines and procedures over the long term."	Schoolwide Guide, p. 9
8. Requires a majority of the teachers and staff to actively participate to be effective	Schoolwide Guide, p. 15
9. You need district and administrative support -"When the BPCC is not supported by building-level administration, the program will likely struggle to be successful" (p. 40).	Schoolwide Guide, p. 10
10. "Bullying involves and affects all students and adults in the school…Bullying problems need to be solved as they happen in a consistent manner across grade levels and in all areas of the school. For this reason, prevention efforts need to reach beyond the individual classroom."	Schoolwide Guide, p. 12
11. Weekly class meetings: -15-30 min for K-2 -30-40 min for everyone else	Schoolwide Guide, p. 14
12. Staff discussion groups: -4-15 people in a group -should meet every two weeks for about an hour("long enough to	Schoolwide Guide, p. 46

Table 4 cont.

provide time for in-depth discussion and reflection" for the whole first year (at least monthly) -BPCC should lead the staff discussion groups	
13. How to create expectations that bullying should not occur-Four Main Principles: 1. Warmth, positive interest, and involvement are needed on the part of adults in the school (deinidividuation move; "talking time to know students" p. 17) 2. Set firm limits to unacceptable behavior 3. Consistently use nonphysical, non-hostile negative consequences when rules are broken ("Students need to experience that the adults in your school will address bullying in roughly the same way, using the same rules and similar guidelines for use of positive and negative consequences" p. 18) 4. Adults in the school should function as authorities and positive role models ("The adults in the school need to model positive behavior toward each other and the students. When students see adults taking action against bullying behavior, it empowers them to do the same" p. 19)	Schoolwide Guide, p. 17-19, 50
14. Every classroom and all staff adopt the same four anti-bullying rules (cannot be changed)	Schoolwide Guide, p. 50-51
15. Those four anti-bullying rules should be added to the school's handbook or policy manual	Schoolwide Guide, p. 54
16. School-kick off event should happen before implementation and every year at the beginning of the school year	Schoolwide Guide, p. 73
17. Teachers should have the first classroom meeting shortly after the kick-off event	Schoolwide Guide, p. 76
18. Rules should be posted in every classroom and throughout the school in high-traffic areas "Posting the rules is not optional" (p. 75).	Schoolwide Guide, p. 51
19. First thing to do is to select an OBPP Coordinator and form a Bullying Prevention Coordinating Committee (BPCC)	Schoolwide Guide, p. 27
20. The committee should meet at least every two weeks for the first three months to plan implementation	Schoolwide Guide, p. 28
21. Once implementation has started, the BPCC should meet monthly	Schoolwide Guide, p. 28
22. Members of the BPCC should represent all of the constituent groups (ex: administrator, teacher from each grade level, counselor or mental health person, someone from the non-teaching staff like a cafeteria worker, a parent, a community representative, etc)	Schoolwide Guide, p. 29
23. Each member is responsible for communicating with his/her constituent group	Schoolwide Guide, p. 29

Table 4 cont.

24. The committee should have the two-day training three months before implementation	Schoolwide Guide, p. 31
25. Involve as many adults as possible in implementation (option of BPCC sub-committees)	Schoolwide Guide, p. 31
26. Rotate committee members to avoid burnout, but always keep a few at each rotation for continuity of the committee	Schoolwide Guide, p. 32
27. Questionnaire should be administered to all students grade three and up	Schoolwide Guide, p. 33
28. Test should be administered before the kick-off event (but 6-8 weeks into the new school year or after being back from winter break)	Schoolwide Guide, p. 35
29. All students should complete the questionnaire on the same day and at the same time	Schoolwide Guide, p. 35
30. Obtain any necessary consent (most schools notify parents that the questionnaire will be administered and to contact the school if they do not wish their child to participate)	Schoolwide Guide, p. 35
31. With results, do not compare changes in the same group of students over several years (the third graders last year, now they're in fourth grade-don't compare their results this year to last year) -compare across grades (ex: the fourth graders from the last few years) -important because bullying trends change with developmental things	Schoolwide Guide, p. 102
32. Big emphasis on training (two-day training for BPCC, one-day training for everyone else) -"Adults who are going to intervene in bullying situations need specific direction, since the failure to intervene is often associated with simply not knowing what to do" (p. 39). -lead administrator should attend the whole two-day training -in training, the BPCC will learn how to: 1. Hold class meetings with students 2. Effectively intervene on the spot to address bullying 3. Follow up with students who are involved in bullying problems 4. Work with parents of students who are involved in bullying problems 5. Train members of the entire school staff in OBPP	Schoolwide Guide, p. 39-43
33. All other staff and teachers should be trained by the BPCC in a one-day training. -"to provide a basic understanding of the need for a systems-change approach rather than a curriculum" (p. 42) -"All adults in your school (including bus drivers, custodians, nurses, hall monitors, playground supervisors, office support staff, classroom teachers, and substitute teachers) should be trained and empowered to intervene, protect the student who is being bullied, and empower the bystanders" (p. 68).	Schoolwide Guide, p. 41

Table 4 cont.

34. Make sure that new teachers, long-term substitutes, and new staff are trained	Schoolwide Guide,p. 43
35. Have booster training days annually	Schoolwide Guide, p. 43
36. Brief training updates in staff meetings -"Because OBPP is a systems-change program that continues throughout the year, it will be important to keep it visible and at the forefront of your staff's minds all year long"	Schoolwide Guide, p. 43
37. Rules of how to make a good policy (what a good policy includes) 1. A clear definition of bullying 2. A focus on prevention 3. The use of the OBPP's four anti-bullying rules 4. The use of negative consequences for bullying and positive consequences for prosocial behavior or active bystander efforts 5. Procedures for reporting bullying, including the process for reporting and responding 6. Procedures for intervening and addressing bullying as it occurs and when it is reported 7. Procedures for working with parents when bullying probems occur 8. District-level standards for logical consequences and disciplinary actions 9. District-level policies for handling disputes and incidents that cross the line into illegal behaviors such as assault, sexual harassment, disability harassment, hazing, and discrimination	Schoolwide Guide, p. 49-50
38. Become of aware of current polices and laws regarding bullying	Schoolwide Guide, p. 49
39. Four Anti-bullying Rules: 1. We will not bully others. 2. We will try to help students who are bullied. 3. We will try to include students who are left out. 4. If we know that somebody is being bullied, we will tell an adult at school and an adult at home.	Schoolwide Guide, p. 51
40. Adults assume primary responsibility for teaching, managing, and responding to bullying	Schoolwide Guide, p. 52
41. Refer directly to the four anti-bullying rules when intervening in a bullying situation	Schoolwide Guide, p. 68
42. "The expectation of OBPP is that any adult in your school should be equipped to respond to bullying behavior on the spot." (every adult & immediate response)	Schoolwide Guide, p. 55
43. Review and refine supervisory system regularly (annually after the questionnaire results are in)	Schoolwide Guide, p. 57

Table 4 cont.

44. The primary teacher or the teacher who knows the student best should be contacted when a student is bullying or bullied or always alone	Schoolwide Guide, p. 69
45. Find a way to log and report bullying incidents	Schoolwide Guide, p. 61
46. Eliminate hidden spots by increasing supervision, locking doors, or physically removing barriers	Schoolwide Guide, p. 65
47. "Make sure that all students (especially isolated students) have someone to sit with." (specifically addressing in the lunchroom)	Schoolwide Guide, p. 64
48. How to intervene 1. Stop the bullying 2. Support the student who is being bullied. 3. To the bullying student(s): Name the bullying behavior and refer to the four anti-bullying rules. 4. Empower the bystanders with appreciation if they were supportive to the student who was bullied or with information about how to act in the future. 5. Impose immediate and appropriate consequences for the student(s) who bullied. 6. Take steps to make sure the bullied student will be protected from future bullying.	Schoolwide Guide, p. 68
49. What type of follow-up should you do after the immediate intervention? 1. Initial intervention 2. Report the bullying to the primary teacher 3. Possibly report to administration 4. Follow-up discussion with the student who was bullied (follow-up discussions should happen with the primary teacher; follow-up meetings are not always necessary but err on the side of holding meetings if unsure; follow-ups should be done as soon after the bullying incident as possible. 5. Follow-up discussion with the student(s) who bullied	Schoolwide Guide, p. 69
50. What should staff do when they are told about a possible bullying problem involving one of their students? 1. Meet with the student who has been reported to be bullied (meet with parents too, can be done together or separately) 2. Directly confront the bullying student(s) – may be helpful to have another adult there, talk to students individually if the bullying was done by more than one student, talk to them in quick succession 3. Contact parents of the student(s) who bullied 4. Check back with all students involved individually two or three days later to see if the bullying has stopped.	Schoolwide Guide, p. 69-70

Table 4 cont.

5. Communicate with other staff members who may need to know.	
51. Teach students how to include students who are left out	Teacher Guide, p. 55
52. Teach students how to help as bystanders	
53. BPCC members should monitor teacher progress with class meetings (option of using a log that teachers can turn in periodically)	Schoolwide Guide, p. 78
54. Have a school-wide parent meeting to explain the program (yearly, at beginning of year)	Schoolwide Guide, p. 86
55. Have 2-3 classroom parent meetings a year	Schoolwide Guide, p. 87
56. "Engaging the community should not be seen as an add-on, but a core component of OBPP."	Schoolwide Guide, p. 93
57. BPCC needs to keep meeting as long as the program is in use	Schoolwide Guide, p. 95
58. Stay in contact with Olweus trainer	Schoolwide Guide, p. 96
59. Twice-yearly staff meetings to update staff about OBPP (early fall, end of spring)	Schoolwide Guide, p. 96
60. Continue staff discussion groups (5 a year after the initial year)	Schoolwide Guide, p. 97
61. If schools do decide to try and implement OBPP in a district and include the high schools, do not start with the high schools	Schoolwide Guide, p. 107
62. "While it is essential to understand that bullying happens repeatedly over time, it is not wise (and may even be dangerous) to wait for a pattern to clearly emerge before intervening. You need to respond anytime you observe or become aware of bullying or other related negative behaviors."	Teacher Guide, p. 13
63. "An important goal of OBPP is to create anti-bullying norms in the peer group that will help to move students toward the right-hand side of the Bullying Circle, particularly into the role of a Defender of the bullied student." There is a goal for everyone, everyone should move towards the right of the bullying circle	Teacher Guide, p. 24
64. Schools should be aware of and monitor closely the development of cyber-bullying in their schools.	Teacher Guide, p. 28
65. Implications of Principles 1. The main responsibility for bullying prevention and OBPP implementation rests with the adults in your school, not with the students. 2. A clear consistent message against bullying should be present throughout your school. 3. School staff must be focused on both short-term and long-term	Teacher Guide, p. 34-39

Table 4 cont.

goals. 4. Because OBPP is a research-based program, its procedures and guidelines should be followed as closely as possible. 5. OBPP is designed to become part of the everyday life of a school. 6. Changing the school climate/school culture requires student involvement as well. 7. Students need to be taught what bullying is and how to get help. 8. Bullying prevention and intervention are different from peer mediation or conflict resolution. 9. OBPP is not a classroom management technique.	
66. Results of the questionnaire are not presented by classroom but by grade level (to preserve anonymity).	
67. Whole school should agree on how and whether time-outs will be used	Teacher Guide, p. 61
68. Lengthy suspensions (zero-tolerance) are not recommended. "A student who is bullying others needs to learn how to interact with students in a more positive way. By removing students from school, they lose the opportunity to learn this."	Teacher Guide, p. 62
69. Discuss the negative consequences of bullying as a class	Chapter 5
70. Ground Rules of Classroom Meetings 1. We raise our hands when we want to say something. 2. Everyone has the right to be heard. 3. We let others speak without interrupting. 4. Everyone has the right to pass. 5. We can disagree without being disagreeable or saying mean things. No put-downs. 6. When talking about bullying or other problems between students, we don't mention names.	Teacher Guide, p. 70
71. Evaluate your class meetings. Record what you're doing and how it worked in a log.	Teacher Guide, p. 75
72. The teacher should decide who plays the role of the bully in the role plays. Bullies should not play the bullying roles. Students who are bullied should not play the role of a student who is bullied.	Teacher Guide, p. 79
73. What to do before you use role-playing in class meetings 1. Read through the two role-play situations from the Role-Play Activities document and choose one for the students to use during a class meeting. 2. Decide how you will divide your students into groups. 3. If an obvious bullying problem does not exist in your	Teacher Guide, p. 80-82

Table 4 cont.

classroom and none of your students are socially isolated, the students can pick who plays what roles. If there is a problem, you assign roles. 4. Decide how you will have the students perform their role-plays. Possibility of warm-up activities . 5. Watch the group dynamics in the role-play situations very carefully. At the end of the role-play, help take students out of their roles before dismissing them to go back to their seats. You can do this through asking the actors questions like: what did you like or dislike about how your character behaved? What would you have done differently in this situation?	
74. How to use role-plays without a solution 1. Explain to students that they will be doing some role plays. Explain that being in a role play or watching one helps you think about what it might feel like to actually be in that situation so you can figure out what to do. 2. Divide the class into small groups and give each group a bullying scenario script and a copy of the Character Sketch Worksheet. Either assign parts or allow students to assign parts. 3. Have students read through the script together and then work as a group on a character sketch for each character in the role-play. Have them practice the role-play again and think about any props they might need. 4. Remind students about the Bullying Circle and how everyone in a bullying situation ha a role to play. 5. Give each group a reasonable amount of time to work on their role-play and character sketches. Encourage students to be creative and to really try to understand their characters in the scenario, what they are thinking, and why they do what they do. 6. When the students have finished their character sketches and practicing their role play, call the students together. Briefly remind them what appropriate audience behavior is expected in your classroom (no interrupting, no laughing, no side conversations, etc). 7. Call on each group to present their role play to the class. 8. After each role play, thank the students for their efforts. If the situation was not clear in the role play, briefly discuss what took place. 9. After the role-plays are finished, lead the class in a follow-up discussion. This is the most important part of the role playing activity.	Teacher Guide, p. 82-83
75. How to use role plays with a solution	Teacher

Table 4 cont.

	Guide, p. 84-86
76. Basic guidelines with parents 1. Form a positive relationship before any problems surface. 2. Assume that most parents care about their children and want to support them in being successful in school. 3. Be problem-oriented when a problem arises (focus on the solution, not the person).	Teacher Guide, p. 108
77. How can parents be involved in OBPP 1. Supporting the BPCC 2. Attending classroom parent meetings 3. Helping organize classroom parent meetings 4. Attending school-wide parent meetings 5. Talking with their children about bullying	Teacher Guide, p. 110
78. Integrate bullying topics into curriculum where possible	Teacher Guide, p. 116-117
79. Avoid stereotypes or bullying myths in outside resources that you use	Teacher Guide, p. 117
80. How to find funding	DVD Chapter 2
81. How to use verbal reprimands effectively	DVD Chapter 10
82. Strategies for using the DVD effectively	T DVD Chapter 6
83. Tips for parents: What to do if your child is being bullied	T DVD Chapter 8
84. Tips for Parents: What to do if your child bullies others	T DVD Chapter 8
85. Tips for Parents: What to do if your child witnesses bullying	T DVD Chapter 8

Table 5, Olweus Bullying Prevention Program Resources

DESCRIPTION	CITED
1. School-wide Guide DVD CD	
2. Teacher Guide	
3. Common language: "The power of the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program lies in staff and students using common language to address bullying situations."	Schoolwide Guide, p. 2
4. Tools & New Prosocial Norm: "Through the Olweus Bullying Questionnaire, we found out that our kids wanted to help but weren't sure how to do so when someone was being bullied. The Olweus Bullying Prevention Program has given them the tools necessary to intervene, and they think it's cool to be known as a protector."	Schoolwide Guide, p. 52
5. Evidence of effectiveness: "…the most researched and best-known bullying prevention program available today." -over 35 years of research behind it	Schoolwide Guide, p. xi
6. New norms, new structure: "The goal of OBPP is to change the norms around bullying behavior and to restructure the school setting itself so that bullying is less likely to occur or be rewarded."	Schoolwide Guide, p. xi
7. Definition: "A person is bullied when he or she is exposed, repeatedly and over time, to negative actions on the part of one or more other persons, and he or she has difficulty defending himself or herself." Forms of bullying: "physical hitting, verbal taunts, spreading of false rumors, intentional social exclusion, and sending nasty messages on a cell phone or over the internet -includes direct, indirect, and cyberbullying	Schoolwide Guide, p. xii
8. Stories about bullying	Schoolwide Guide, p. xiii
9. Olweus Bullying Questionnaire	
10. Regular, current feedback about bullying activity within the school	Schoolwide Guide, p. 34
11. Includes all faculty and staff (huge resource of people able to intervene) -Adults as role models: "The adults in the school need to model positive behavior toward each other and the students. When students see adults taking action against bullying behavior, it empowers them to do the same" (p. 19).	Schoolwide Guide, p. 19
12. Economic motivations: "As you consider these costs, keep in mind that implementing OBPP will most likely cut down on lost teaching time and staff burnout,	Schoolwide Guide, p. 10

Table 5 cont.

protect your school from potential legal actions related to bullying, and in the long term reduce the costs to society caused bye the effects of bullying on both the student who is bullied and the students who bully others."	
13. Example timeline	Schoolwide Guide, p. 13
14. Class meetings -time and space to address current classroom and community issues -time and space to focus on building cohesion -visibility tool among students -"The purpose of these weekly meetings is to build a sense of class cohesion and community, to teach the rules and consequences of bullying, to problem solve, to help students understand their role in bullying situations, and to address issues about bullying as they arise" (p. 24).	Schoolwide Guide, p. 24
15. Staff discussion groups -training -support for teachers and implementers -time and space to provide that training and support -visibility tool among teachers	Schoolwide Guide, p. 45
16. Time: "Implementing OBPP in the classroom may actually help teachers spend more time on learning because it allows them to address social and behavior problems and climate issues in a proactive way, rather than a reactive one."	Schoolwide Guide, p. 14
17. Questionnaire and definition of bullying: "It will provide a common definition of bullying for students…."	Schoolwide Guide, p. 22
18. Coordinator as resource of support and knowledge for the rest of the school community; ultimate resource of leadership in terms of the program(locus of direction)	Schoolwide Guide, p. 27
19. BPCC-resource of support and knowledge for the rest of the school community; resource of leadership (locus of direction)	Schoolwide Guide, p. 28
20. Kick-off event -source of knowledge, source of enthusiasm, source of authority	
21. Implementation Flowchart	DVD Chapter 2
22. How to find funding suggestions	DVD Chapter 2
23. Implementation Checklist (School)	DVD Chapter 3
24. BPCC Invite Letter	DVD Chapter 4
25. BPCC Member List	DVD Chapter 4
26. BPCC Member Task Sheet	DVD Chapter 4

Table 5 cont.

27. BPCC Workbook	DVD Chapter 4
28. BPCC First Meeting Agenda	DVD Chapter 4
29. BPCC Ongoing Agenda	DVD Chapter 4
30. Questionnaire Tracking Log (class, teacher, how many enrolled by gender, how many took questionnaire by gender)	DVD Chapter 5
31. BPCC Two-Day Training Log	DVD Chapter 6
32. Full Day Training Agenda	DVD Chapter 6
33. All-Staff Training Log	DVD Chapter 6
34. Outline for Staff Meeting	DVD Chapter 7
35. Staff Discussion Log (who attended, what was covered, questions that need to be answered or addressed next time, any follow that needs to be done)	DVD Chapter 7
36. List of Model Policies and Links to Read Them	DVD Chapter 8
37. Rules Poster PDF (B&W or Color) (English or Spanish)	DVD Chapter 9
38. Table Tent PDF (B&W or Color) (English or Spanish)	DVD Chapter 9
39. Bullying Incident Log	DVD Chapter 9
40. On the Spot Bullying Interventions (to be copied and laminated, small cards for each teacher to carry)	DVD Chapter 10
41. One the Spot Bullying Instructions Sheet (how to handle an intervention)	DVD Chapter 10
42. Using Verbal Reprimands Effectively sheet	DVD Chapter 10
43. Sample Kick-off Invitation (for parents and community leaders) (English or Spanish)	DVD Chapter 11
44. School Announcements (to be read over the intercom or on the school news) (for both before and after the kick-off event)	DVD Chapter 11
45. Sample Outline for the Kick-off Event	DVD Chapter 11
46. Parent Pamphlet (on the program and what bullying is) (English or Spanish)	DVD Chapter 13
47. Parent Letter (introducing the program) (English or Spanish)	DVD Chapter 13
48. Sample Outline for School-wide Parent Meeting	DVD Chapter 13
49. Sample Press Release	DVD Chapter

Table 5 cont.

	14
50. Implementation Checklist for Continued Program Implementation	DVD Chapter 15
51. Innovative Ideas from Schools Who Have Implemented OBPP (for a variety of aspects of the program	DVD Chapter 15
52. List of research articles on OBPP	Both DVDs Chapter 1
53. Similarities and Differences between Rough-and-Tumble Play, Real Fighting, and Bullying Document	T DVD Chapter 2
54. Additional Bullying Prevention Resources Document	T DVD Chapter 4
55. Teacher Implementation Checklist	T DVD Chapter 4
56. Ground Rules Poster PDF (B&W or Color) (English or Spanish)	T DVD Chapter 4
57. First Class Meeting Outline and Script	T DVD Chapter 6
58. Class Meeting Rule #1 Outline	T DVD Chapter 6
59. Class Meeting Rule #2 Outline	T DVD Chapter 6
60. Class Meeting Rule #3 Outline	T DVD Chapter 6
61. Class Meeting Rule #4 Outline	T DVD Chapter 6
62. Class Meeting: Bullying Rules Roundup (English or Spanish)	T DVD Chapter 6
63. Strategies for Using the DVD Effectively Document	T DVD Chapter 6
64. Bullying Circle Exercise (English or Spanish)	T DVD Chapter 6
65. Class Meeting Activity Log	T DVD Chapter 6
66. Role Play Activities Document (English or Spanish) -role plays -character sketch worksheet -role play solutions worksheet	T DVD Chapter 7
67. Follow-up Interventions with a Student Who Has Been Bullied Checklist, Meeting Outline, and Script	T DVD Chapter 8
68. Tips for Parents: What to do if your Child is Being Bullied Document (English or Spanish)	T DVD Chapter 8
69. Follow-up Interventions with a Student Who Has Bullied Checklist, Meeting Outline, and Script	T DVD Chapter 8
70. Tips for Parents: What to do if your child bullies others Document (English or Spanish)	T DVD Chapter 8
71. Tips for Parents: What to do if your child witnesses bullying	T DVD

Table 5 cont.

Document	Chapter 8
72. Integrating Bullying Topic into your Curriculum Ideas	T DVD Chapter 10
73. Getting Students Involved in Community Efforts Ideas	T DVD Chapter 10

APPENDIX C

PROJECT TOWARDS NO DRUG ABUSE

Table 6, Project Towards No Drug Abuse Rules

DESCRIPTION	CITED
1. 12 sessions, 40-50 minutes each	Teacher's Manual, p. x
2. Ideally: implement over a four week period, 3 sessions a week	Teacher's Manual, p. x
3. All 12 lessons should be taught and should be taught using the teaching methods specified	Teacher's Manual, p. xi
4. "We *strongly* recommend that teachers participate in training prior to beginning program implementation. Certified Project TND trainers offer one- and two-day training workshops. Two-day workshops permit more supervised practice by trainees."	Teacher's Manual, p. xi
5. Teacher Summary Statements (denoted by an icon in the lessons) should be stated exactly as written.	Teacher's Manual, p. xii
6. TND Game: Teams can advance on the board if all team members are quiet and in seats at the bell. Teams can advance when questions are answered correctly. Teams can lose spaces if there is a disruption on a team.	Teacher's Manual, p. xiv
7. How to play the TND Game: 1. Explain to the class that if time allows, each session will begin and end by playing the TND game. 2. Explain that the game will consist of review questions from previous sessions. Before the session begins each day, the class will review material from all pervious sessions. At the end of each session, the class will review that day's material. 3. Divide the class into 2 teams for the TND Game. Pass around the roll sheet and have students sign it to indicate which team they are on. Teams may give themselves a Team Name if they desire (other than Team A and Team B). 4. Explain that the starting player from each team may select	Teacher's Manual, p. xv

Table 6 cont.

Question A to F. Each question has been pre-assigned a point value. Each question is worth from 1 to 3 points. Point value is revealed when a question is chosen. This determines how many spaces can be moved on the game board if the question is answered correctly. 5. Flip a coin and have someone call "heads" or "tails" to determine which team will go first. 6. The "play" switches from team to team regardless of answers given. Be sure to give each team an equal opportunity to score points. The "play" may immediately switch to the other team if team member yell out an answer without being called on, or if team member make fun of or put down another classmate. 7. There is one "bonus" question per game. The bonus has been attached arbitrarily to one of the six questions. If students select the question that has the bonus, they will move ahead 5 additional spaces if they correctly answer the question. 8. Explain that the game will continue each day of TND and points will accumulate (that is, totals each day on the game score sheet are recorded as cumulative). The winning members will receive a reward (extra credit or a prize) on the last day of the program.	
8. Should have a reward system in place to announce on the first day of the program	Teacher's Manual, p. xiv
9. Set up ground rules 1. Keep personal information that students share confidential 2. No judging or making fun 3. No mentioning of names	Teacher's Manual, p. 3
10. Effective Communication Skills: Listening 1. Look at the speaker and pay attention to what he/she is saying. 2. Be respectful of differences of opinion-keep an open mind. 3. Acknowledge what the speaker is saying by nodding, having eye contact, etc. 4. Ask questions if you don't understand.	Student Workbook, p. 2
11. Effective Communication Skills: Speaking 1. Make sure verbal and nonverbal messages match. 2. Speak clearly and stick to the point (don't talk too long). 3. Be sure your message is received as you intend it to be (watch the listener).	Student Workbook, p. 2
12. How to deal with stress (COPE)	Teacher's Manual, p.

Table 6 cont.

1. Consider alternatives (relaxation, physical activity, meditation, deep breathing/concentrating, avoidance, journal writing, creative expression) 2. Others' support (counseling, support groups, processing and venting, peer groups) 3. Problem solving (seeking information, evaluating possible situations, lessen perceived threat, investigate future outcomes, set goals, follow through) 4. Esteem building (reflect on your strengths, read books or listen to CDs that uplift/motivate/challenge you to be a better person, attend workshops where you learn new skills to feel better about yourself, undertake projects that make you feel successful)	117
13. Tips for quitting tobacco use: 1. Prepare to quit: Make a commitment. -Pick your "quit day" -Write your personal statement of commitment -Prepare to conquer nicotine addiction: 2. Quit! 3. Manage withdrawal symptoms. -Ignore or learn from the withdrawal symptoms; they will go away. Give yourself two weeks before they will go away. -Drink water. -Use temporary substitutes (gum, cinnamon sticks, hard candy, carrots). -Increase physical exercise. -Spend time in beautiful natural places. -Practice deep breathing. 4. Avoid relapse. -Avoid weight gain (try using various strategies). -Refer frequently to your personal statement of commitment. -Don't obsess over withdrawal symptoms. -Congratulate yourself on breaking your addiction to nicotine. 5. Live a tobacco-free life. -Learn to accept events as they happen. -Put something different into your daily routine (walking, meditation, yoga, learning a new game). -Call healthy non-smoking friends or family members and talk about your experiences quitting. -Remind yourself of your personal statement of commitment. -Congratulate yourself again.	Student Workbook, p. 43
14. Assertive Communication Statements 1. Other: Say something about the person with whom you are	Teacher's Manual, p. 177

Table 6 cont.

speaking; compliment them. 2. Self: Say something about how you feel about the situation; use and "I" statement. 3. Action: Say what you want them to do in the situation.	
15. Think positive thoughts that lead to positive choices that lead to positive behaviors (thought loops)	Student Workbook, p. 58-59
16. Violence Prevention Strategies 1. Find resources in your community to help you resolve conflict, such as peer or adult mediators, church leaders, or talking to other adults that you trust. 2. Learn to talk it out, avoid, ignore, or minimize dares to engage in violence. Try to see the situation through the other person's eyes. You might say something like "I'm sorry," or make a joke, or say something positive to the other person. 3. Learn to keep calm. Get away from the situation, or count to 20 and think about your options. (Real toughness is not letting others press your buttons.) 4. Practice assertiveness. (For example, an assertive statement is: "I know you are upset, but I don't mean any harm. We're good.") 5. Think past the situation. (Set future goals for yourself.)	Student Workbook, p. 60
17. How to make decisions: 1. Brainstorm. 2. Weigh pros and cons. 3. Select the best option. 4. Follow through.	Student Workbook, p. 62

Table 7, Project Towards No Drug Abuse Resources

DESCRIPTION	CITED
1. Teacher Manual	
2. Student Manual	
3. PowerPoint Presentations for each session	CD
4. Awards and recognitions cited	p. vi
5. Name tags for Talk Show (Session 5)	CD
6. Clearing the Air (Quitting Smoking Workbook)	CD
7. Panelist Name Tags (Session 9)	CD
8. Demonstration Cards (Session 10)	CD
9. Perspective Cards (Session 11)	CD
10. TND Board Game PDF	CD
11. TND Game Teams Sheet	CD
12. Research cited	p. viii-ix
13. Teacher notes (suggestions or tips for maximizing implementation of the specific activity, feedback from teachers who have already taught the program)	Included in each session
14. Communication	Teacher's Manual, p. 5
15. Selective listening	Teacher's Manual, p. 8
16. Open mind	Teacher's Manual, p. 8
17. Effective communication	Teacher's Manual, p. 10
18. Stereotyping	Teacher's Manual, p. 27
19. Self-fulfilling prophecy	Teacher's Manual, p. 29
20. Myth	Teacher's Manual, p. 41
21. Four Myths of Drug Abuse 1. Drug use provides emotional protection from the outside world. 2. Drugs help people to establish friendships. 3. People get used to a drug. 4. Drug use shows independence.	Teacher's Manual, p. 42-46
22. Four Kinds of Denial 1. Drug users frequently blame others or outside social event for their drug use.	Teacher's Manual, p. 48-49

Table 7 cont.

2. Drug users may deny injury from drug use. 3. Drug users deny their effects on others. 4. Drug users reinterpret bad things that happen to them, so that they appear to be positive, or at least not so bad.	
23. Chemical dependency	Teacher's Manual, p. 81
24. Tolerance	Teacher's Manual, p. 81
25. Withdrawal	Teacher's Manual, p. 82
26. Stages of Chemical Dependence Trial Recreation Abuse Pinned down (addicted)	Teacher's Manual, p. 82
27. Enable	Teacher's Manual, p. 85
28. Systems orientation to the effects of substance abuse (affects several relationships, affects several different areas of life)	Teacher's Manual, Session 4, p. 119
29. Self-help Assistance Toolkit (reference guide to get help or information in a variety of health areas)	Teacher's Manual, p. 94
30. Perspective taking (Talk Show and Marijuana Panel, students play different roles of people all affected by drug abuse in different ways)	Teacher's Manual, Session 5 & 9
31. Space and time to talk about substance abuse and how students have experienced it (in terms of friends or family members)	Teacher's Manual, p. 102, 153
32. Stress	Teacher's Manual, p. 116
33. Quality of life	Teacher's Manual, p. 120
34. Tobacco facts	Teacher's Manual, p. 156-161
35. Tobacco Use Cessation Manual	Teacher's

Table 7 cont.

	Manual, p. 162-167
36. Self-control	Teacher's Manual, p. 171
37. Passive	Teacher's Manual, p. 174
38. Aggressive	Teacher's Manual, p. 175
39. Assertive	Teacher's Manual, p. 176
40. Marijuana use consequences	Teacher's Manual, p. 199
41. Stages of marijuana use and abuse	Teacher's Manual, p. 200
42. Thought and behavior loops	Teacher's Manual, p. 205-209
43. Violence	Teacher's Manual, p. 209-210
44. Radical	Teacher's Manual, p. 221
45. Traditional	Teacher's Manual, p. 222
46. Moderate	Teacher's Manual, p. 222
47. Brainstorm	Teacher's Manual, p. 238
48. Re-evaluate	Teacher's Manual, p. 239
49. Commitment	Teacher's Manual, p. 240
50. Making Decisions worksheet	Teacher's Manual, p.

Table 7 cont.

	243
51. Personal Commitment page	Teacher's Manual, p. 244
52. Teaching Methods descriptions	Teacher's Manual, p. 245
53. Website addresses for updated drug facts	Teacher's Manual, p. 246
54. Main classes of drug abuse	Teacher's Manual, p. 247-250
55. Tobacco info sheet	Teacher's Manual, p. 251
56. Alcohol info sheet	Teacher's Manual, p. 252
57. Marijuana info sheet	Teacher's Manual, p. 253-254
58. Cocaine info sheet	Teacher's Manual, p. 255-256
59. Heroin info sheet	Teacher's Manual, p. 257
60. Anabolic steroids info sheet	Teacher's Manual, p. 258
61. Inhalants info sheet	Teacher's Manual, p. 259
62. Phencyclidine info sheet	Teacher's Manual, p. 260-261
63. MDMA info sheet	Teacher's Manual, p. 262
64. GHB info sheet	Teacher's Manual, p. 263
65. Ketamine info sheet	Teacher's Manual, p. 264

Table 7 cont.

66. Methamphetamine info sheet	Teacher's Manual, p. 265
67. LSD info sheet	Teacher's Manual, p. 266
68. Minor Tranquilizers info sheet	Teacher's Manual, p. 267
69. OTC Cough and Cold Medicines with DXM info sheet	Teacher's Manual, p. 268
70. Prescription painkillers info sheet	Teacher's Manual, p. 269
71. Prescription stimulants info sheet	Teacher's Manual, p. 270
72. Prescription depressants info sheet	Teacher's Manual, p. 271
73. Additional Marijuana facts	Teacher's Manual, p. 275-276
74. Medical Marijuana legal issues	Teacher's Manual, p. 277
75. Marijuana use consequences	Teacher's Manual, p. 278
76. Selected Project TND references	Teacher's Manual, p. 280-286
77. Audience questions (Talk Show)	Student Workbook, p. 25-27
78, Character sheets (Talk Show)	Student Workbook, p. 28-33
79. Quality of Life Questionnaire	Student Workbook, p. 40
80. Audience questions (Marijuana Panel)	Student Workbook, p. 50-51
81. Character sheets (Marijuana Panel)	Student

Table 7 cont.

	Workbook, p. 52-55
82. Making Decisions Worksheet	Student Workbook, p. 62
83. Personal Commitment Worksheet	Student Workbook, p. 63
84. Sessions Summary Sheets	Student Workbook, p. 64-75

Table 8, Project Towards No Drug Abuse Sessions

Session	Title
1	Active Listening
2	Stereotyping
3	Myths and Denials
4	Chemical Dependency
5	Talk Show
6	Stress, Health & Goals
7	Tobacco Basketball and Use Cessation
8	Self-control
9	Marijuana Panel
10	Positive and Negative Thought and Behavior Loops
11	Perspectives
12	Decision-making & Commitment

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